

FUTŪHU'S SALATĪN
OR
SHAH NĀMAH—I HIND OF ISĀMI
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Volume I

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CRITICAL ESTIMATE

Completed in the short span of five months and nine days (27th *Ramazān* 750-6th *Rabi' I* 751, December 10, 1349-May 14, 1350) the *Shâh Nâmah-i Hind*—a versified compendium of the Muslim conquests and exploits in India ranging over three centuries

For the corresponding photograph of the India Office manuscript
of the *Futuḥū's-Salātīn* see the Afgra edition, published in 1938

and Dr. Hamidullah)

(Through courtesy of Maulvi Muhammed Ghauṣ

MANUSCRIPT OF THE FUTUHUL-SALATIN

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SHĀH NĀMAH-I HIND OF 'ISĀMĪ

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Volume I

Edited by

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governor of Khurāsān, became restive. Abu'l Mansūr reconciled himself with this rebellious governor and recognized him as an independent ruler of Ghaznī.

After the death of Alptigīn in 963/352 Ghaznī passed under the rule of his slave and general, Pīrītigīn the tyrant. During his reign the Hindū government of Kābul which had been viewing with jealousy the rise of the upstart power of Ghaznī made a military demonstration on the frontiers of Ghaznī. But the demonstrators were driven back by the joint forces of Pīrītigīn and Subuktigīn who was another slave and general of Alptigīn. However, it was believed that victory rested with Subuktigīn alone; and the Turkish amirs installed him on the throne of Ghaznī to the exclusion of Pīrītigīn whom they deposed.

Born in 942/331 at Jūq, a minor principality of Turkistān, Subuktigīn was taken by some Turkish raiders to Bukhārā and sold to Abū Naṣr, a merchant, who presented him to Alptigīn. Alptigīn gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. In due course Subuktigīn ascended the throne of Ghaznī. During his reign began that territorial expansion of Ghaznī on the borderland of India which provoked the Hindūshāhiya kingdom of Lamaghān, Kābul and the river Chināb into creating a conflagration. Since this kingdom spread up to Multān and Poonch and claimed Waihind in southern Kashmīr as its capital Raja Jaipāl of Waihind resolved to stop the expansion of Ghaznī. Thus he lit the flames of a war which consumed the Hindūshāhiya kingdom. The whole of this kingdom was, as a consequence, annexed to the empire of Ghaznī.

It is said that Jaipāl had parried a raid which Subuktigīn had made by making a military demonstration on the frontier of Ghaznī. Subuktigīn gave him battle near the

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Aligarh Aligarh Muslim (1898)

brother Sultān Shāh quarrelled with him and a civil war broke out. At last Sultān Shāh went to Ghor soliciting help from Ghiyāṣu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām in order to capture Khurāsān. The latter gave no help. Sultān Shāh, disgruntled, went to Turkistān where he allied himself with the Qira-khitais. With their help he was able to secure a part of Khurāsān comprising Marv, Sarakhs, Tūs and Nishāpūr. Thus his ambition was spurred; and having secured a new ally in Bahā'u'ddin Tughril, the Saljūqī governor of Herāt, he marched upon Ghor and fought a battle near the river Marv with Ghiyāṣu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām in 586/1190. The latter who was assisted in this battle by his brother Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghorī and his kinsmen and vassals—Shamsu'ddin Muḥammad governor of Bāniān and Tāju'ddin Ḥarab governor of Sistān and Qutbu'ddin Aibāk¹—defeated Sultān Shāh. Sultān Shāh fled in the direction of Marv but his ally Bahā'u'ddin Tughril of Herāt was captured and killed, and his head was presented to Ghiyāṣu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām at Fīroz Koh. In this manner Herāt was annexed to the Shansabānia empire in

from central Irān and partly from those of western Irān of that age. They called it 'Irāq 'Ajam in order to distinguish it from Mesopotamia—the land between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates—which was called 'Irāq 'Arab; and the same is 'Irāq proper in modern geography.

The term 'Irāq 'Ajam continued to be used till the inauguration of the Iranian constitution in 1324 Hijra. Then the old names of the provinces of Irān were replaced by the significant term *ostān*; and as a corollary to this the old name 'Irāq 'Ajam fell into disuse.

1 It is stated that Qutbu'ddin Aibak was then employed as a steward of the royal stable at Ghaznī. But the statement has remained unconfirmed.

TO

THE SACRED MEMORY OF
PROFESSOR MIRZA MOHSIN NAMAZIE

*The unassuming but eminently endowed and gifted
'ALLAMA and Head of the Department of Arabic &
Persian, Calcutta University, who took great interest in
this work but died suddenly on 15th May, 1966.*

with the Shansabānia empire and recaptured Tūs, Nishāpūr and Herāt. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor retaliated carrying fire and sword to the region of Tūs and Sarakhs; and successfully recovered Herāt. He was about to recover the rest of Khurāsān when he was suddenly claimed by the Angel of Death (599/1202). His younger brother Muizzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghorī who ascended the throne immediately had a short reign of four years. He was murdered in 602/1206 and was succeeded by his nephew Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd, son of the deceased Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad. Under him the Shansabānia empire whose embryonic lustre had spread for a few years from the Indus westward to the boundary of 'Irāq 'Ajam and from the river Oxus to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf dwindled into a small kingdom under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd, son and successor of the great Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad. He had under his rule little beyond Ghor, Ghīznī and a little part of Khurāsān and Hindustān; and his reign was short. That is, five years after his accession he was killed by his own amirs. His son Bahā'u'ddīn who was then fourteen years old had hardly settled on the throne when he was attacked by his grand uncle 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz son of 'Alā'u'ddīn *Jahānsuz* of Ghor. The invader 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz who was in the service of Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭbu'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh then conquered Fīroz Koh. The young sultān (Bahā'u'ddīn) fled to Herāt where he was captured and ultimately drowned into a river (607/1210). 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz who was the last heir of the Shansabānia house ruled as king of Ghor for four years only. He was set upon by Tāju'ddīn Yalduz, the claimant of Ghīznī and in the course of a battle that followed he was killed (611/1214).

TRANSLITERATION

THE transliteration marks have been confined to the singular forms only. The plural being formed in the English manner by adding 's', the transliteration marks are not considered necessary in the plural forms, e.g. sultān, sultans ; qāzī, qazis ; amīr, amirs ; Hindū, Hindus.

For the convenience of the reader the scheme of transliteration followed in other books of mine has been retained.

ABBREVIATIONS

A. Y. A. :	Abdullah Yusuf Ali
A. Y. A. Q. :	Abdullah Yusuf Ali, Quran
C. H. I. :	<i>Cambridge History of India</i>
C. R. :	<i>Cunningham Reports</i>
C. P. K. D. :	<i>Chronicles of Pathan kings of Dchli</i>
E. I. :	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i>
E. T. E. A. :	<i>Early Turkish Empire</i> , Abdul Aziz
F. M. :	<i>Foundation of Muslim rule</i> , Habibullah
G. O. S. :	Gaekwar Oriental Seties
H. M. I. :	<i>Historians of Medieval India</i>
H. N. T. :	Hasan Nizami, <i>Tājū'l Maāṣir</i>
H. Ms. :	Hyderabad Manuscript
I. O. :	India Office
M. G. :	<i>Mahmud of Ghazna</i> , Nazim
S. I. M. H. :	<i>Studies in Indo-Muslim History</i>
T. F. :	<i>Tārīkh-i Firishta</i>
T. B. A. :	<i>Tārīkh-i Baibaqī</i> ,
T. F. B. :	<i>Tārīkh-i Firoz Shāhī</i> , Barani
T. N. B. I. :	<i>Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī</i> , <i>Bibleotheca Indica</i>
T. N. R. :	<i>Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī</i> , Raverty

PREFACE

THE Agra edition of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* published in 1938, shortly after my return from Europe, was the result of my study of the India Office manuscript No. 895, made in London. Ere long, I lighted upon the Hyderabad manuscript and collated it with the photostats of the said India Office manuscript which I had brought from London. In 1948 came into my hands Professor Usha's edition of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn*. The fact that the learned editor added thirty-seven verses of his own in the footnotes of his edition to indicate the lacunae in both the manuscripts was suggestive enough. Since the full strength of 'Isāmī's *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* amounted to twelve thousand verses and the India Office manuscript had given eleven thousand, five hundred and twenty-five verses only as opposed to the Hyderabad manuscript which gave eleven thousand six hundred ninety-three, I welcomed the gift of one hundred sixty-eight verses and incorporated the same in the correct text that I then prepared. At the same time I instituted a search for the remaining three hundred and seven verses. My effort to that effect—for I desired to proceed with that object to Iran—attracted the attention of the late Professor Mirza Mohsin Namazie. He promised me financial help if I undertook a trip to Iran. But, to my great misfortune he died before I could finalize my plans for the proposed journey. However, he lived long enough to see the English translation of the correct text which I had completed at an early date.

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I translated all the eleven thousand six hundred ninety-three verses in English prose and I made my

translation literal and true to the text as far as possible. But I have not been literal at the expense of the historical sense behind the poetic expressions. One such expression is *shanidam* which occurs frequently either in the beginning or in the midst of the verses. Sometimes I have avoided translating it, considering it redundant.

I listed the queer geographical names used by 'Isāmī ; and in the attempt to decipher these and locate them on the map I invited the co-operation of Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey. I thank him for his suggestions.

I also thank Dr. Yusuf Husain, ex-Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Nuru'l Hasan, Professor and Head of the History Department, Aligarh Muslim University, for their kindly making the publication of my Translation and Commentary of the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* a concern of the Aligarh Muslim University.

I would be failing in my duty if I did not introduce at this stage the renowned educationist and scholar Dr. Zakir Husain, Vice-President of the Indian Republic, who very kindly looked into my manuscript of this work. I thank him for the same ; and am very grateful to him.

In the end, I crave the indulgence of my readers for my inadequacies of which I am conscious. In the expectation that this unpretentious work of mine will receive favourable consideration at their hands and might swim on its own merits through streams of adverse criticism I place it now before the Tribunal of the Public.

INTRODUCTION

MANUSCRIPTS OF FUTUHŪ'S-SALĀTĪN

'In these days when learning is at a discount and knowledge is not in request I have set my hands to composing the *Futūhū's-Salātīn* which contains twelve thousand verses.'

So says 'Isāmī. But neither of the two manuscripts, now available, gives the full number. Both are defective though each is supplementary to the other. The India Office manuscript has some lacunae on folios 327a and 327b; but the missing verses amounting to seven in each case are supplied by the Hyderabad manuscript. The folios 244a, 244b, 258a, 258b, 259a, 259b, 262a, 262b, 263a and 260b of the India Office manuscript are highly damaged and spoilt by humidity; and many more have been badly affected. The Hyderabad manuscript too suffers from a loss of some verses as well as of phrases and words. Some verses are repeated in both the manuscripts: for instance the I.O. MS. has repeated verse 907 after verse 909 and a similar situation is noticeable in the H. MS., verse 1781. Some verses are found in reverse order: for instance verses 4444 and 4445 in H. MS. F. 158. And there are also a few blank spaces on certain pages in both the manuscripts; and at least in one case it is of equal size.

Evidently both the manuscripts are copies from an original which is extinct. The Hyderabad manuscript is more beautiful and is immune from the ravages of humidity. Both are written in beautiful *Nastālīq* character of

modern age. But the India Office manuscript looks older. The verses in both the manuscripts are left unnumbered. I have numbered the verses in the photostats on which is based the present translation; and out of the copious notes that I wrote on comparing and collating the two manuscripts a few are reproduced below.

Verses 388, 4136, 5303, 5878, 6128, 6704, 6801, 7190, 7948, 8463, 8817, 8859, 8904, 9407, 7427, 9455 and 11084 in both the manuscripts are not vitally connected with the succeeding verses; and it appears that a few verses are missing in each case. Verses 718, 719 and 720 found in the H. MS. folio 96 are wanting in the I.O. MS. folio 34. Verse 1420 which is wanting in the I.O. MS. folio 51 is found in the H. MS. on folio 96. Verse 3706 on folio 131 of H. MS. is missing: it is seen in the I.O. MS., folio 117. On folio 138 of the I.O. MS. seventy-four verses are wanting. These are seen in the H. MS., folio 159. Again on folio 153 of the I.O. MS. five verses 5000 to 5004 are wanting but they are yielded by the H. MS. folio 179.

These are but a few examples of the omissions and discrepancies noticeable in both the manuscripts.

SHĀH NĀMAH-I HIND

THE *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* is the Indian counterpart of Firdausī's *Šāh Nāmah* of Īrān; and Abdu'l Malik 'Iṣāmī commonly known by his pen-name 'Iṣāmī is the Indian Firdausī¹ who came into the picture some four hundred years after the death of the Firdausī of Tūs.²

'Iṣāmī came into the world three hundred and ninety-nine lunar years after the birth of the great Firdausī of Tūs. He was born in the city of Dehlī in the year 710/1311 during the reign of Sultān 'Alā'u'ddīn Khaljī. He had lost his father, whom he has left unnamed, in his tender age. Trained since then in the school of adversity he learnt in course of time to stand on his own feet; and became a self-made man as is indicated by his pen-name³ 'Iṣāmī.⁴ In these circumstances his antecedents having remained obscure no one cared to record his ancestry. But he claims to have had a distinguished ancestry. He tells us that one of his ancestors Fakhru'l-Mulk 'Iṣāmī who had been a wazīr at the Abbasid court of Baghdad came over to Dehlī where he was appointed wazīr of Iltutmish. His son Zahīru'l-Mulk Ṣadru'l-Kirām who became the court secretary (*vakīldar*) of Sultān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd son of Iltutmish died early in the succeeding reign of Balban. He left behind a son 'Izzu'u'ddīn 'Iṣāmī, a commander (*sipāh-sālār*) in the army of Dehlī who was

¹ See Husain, A.M.,—*The Firdausī of India*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (Lahore, 1940), pp. 201 ff.

² An old town now called Meshed, near Teheran.

³ For his name see Agra edition of the *Futūḥu's Salāṭīn*, p. 3.

⁴ For the meaning of 'Iṣāmī see p. 44, f. n. 1, *infra*.

and a half (390-750/1000-1349)—is a marvel of history. It has proved more interesting and no less useful than the prose works of Minhāj's *Sirāj*, Ziyā'u'ddin Barānī and the *Rehla* of Ibn Battūṭa. Dr. Hardy's remark¹ that 'Isāmī's recension does not always agree in detail with that found in Minhāj's *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* and in Barānī's *Tārikh-i Fīroz Shāhī* is not beside the mark for 'Isāmī was an independent writer. Although he has not acknowledged his sources for the style of the *Shāh Nāmah* did not admit of such acknowledgment at every stage, he has mentioned the classical works of Sa'dī, Nizāmī and Firdausī and has indirectly referred to the works of Amīr Khusrav, notably the *Āshiqa* or *Ishqia* and the *Tughluq Nāmah*. From all the above sources and many more he borrowed his information but he did not take their narratives verbatim. He examined these and commented on them reproducing the whole in his own way so as to give it the look of his own outlay. If Dr. Hardy's remark² that 'Isāmī gives artifacts rather than facts be credited, then surely Amīr Khusrav and Barānī would top the list. It is true that 'Isāmī gives artifacts in part, in his account of Sultān Maḥmūd, Sultān Rażiya and Sultān Muḥammad: it was religion in the case of Maḥmūd; sex in the case of Rażiya and religious innovations and conflict with the 'ulamā and *mashāikh* in the case of Sultān Muḥammad that had unbalanced 'Isāmī.

Unlike the style of Amīr Khusrav, the style of 'Isāmī is clear and simple and free from abstruseness.

1. Hardy, P.—H.M. I. p. 110

2. *Op. cit.*

its historical value lies in the fact that it was written during the lifetime of the *zālim* emperor and clouded the vision of the succeeding chronicles. Studied side by side with the *Rebla* of Ibn Battūṭa it would enable the reader to discover some of the sources of information utilized by that Moorish traveller though he was not aware of Ḥasanī. Ḥasanī says that the *qazis* of the empire had declared war on the emperor and had approved of his execution. The *Rebla* written by one of the said *qazis* sounds a similar note. It depicts the jurists—*fuqabā*, *khutabā* and *sulabā*—all persons belonging to the ‘ulamā class, as victims of the emperor’s tyranny. It follows that Ḥasanī and Ibn Battūṭa both drew upon the heirs of those victimis; and collected data from interested sources.

Firdausī’s *Shāh Nāmah* was a compendium of multifarious folk-lore of Irān from the pagan times to the advent of Islām. Ḥasanī’s *Shāh Nāmah* became an

tive raids. Afterwards, you should lay siege to the fortress and shake it to its foundations. Should the Rāi of Teling submit and present wealth in money and elephants you should reinstate him under my sovereignty and restore his dominion. You should give him a robe studded with jewels and promise him a parasol on my behalf with due regards. This done, you should return to the capital in good cheer. If the Rāi wavers and delays his submission you must draw out your dagger and demolish his fortress completely, kill him and send his head along with his elephants and riches to me.’

The above extract from the *Futūḥu’s-Salāṭin* contains an outline of the principles of the *Khalji* imperialism. That is, Malik Kāfür was ordered to note that the war he was going to wage in the Deccan was no war of religion and no orders for the demolition of temples and places of sanctity were given.

It may well be said that 'Isāmī has written history, not poetry unlike Amir Khusrav who has written poetry on the fabric of history. Unlike the works of Amir Khusrav which are intact 'Isāmī's *Shāh Nāmah-i Hind* has come down to us in a truncated and mutilated form ; but it has not lost till today its glamour and utility. It gives a lively and almost an eye-witness account of imperialism under the Khaljī empire-builder and of its wreckage under Ibn-i Tughluq, saying :

'Two namesake vine-dressers in this garden did the work of spring and autumn respectively. While the son of Shihāb populated it the son of Tughluq destroyed it completely.'

Professor Aiyangar's comment on the 'Alāī invasions of the Deccan appears a recension¹ of 'Isāmī's Persian poetry to that effect.

The glamour of 'Isāmī's *Shāh Nāmah-i Hind* lies further in his satire of Muhammad bin Tughluq ; and

1 In his famous book *Deccan and her Muslim invaders* (p. 87) Professor Aiyangar says :

'Alā'u'ddīn's object in these various invasions of the Deccan and the farther south appears to have gone no further than making them the milchcow for the gold that he was often much in need of for the efficient maintenance of his army to keep Hindustan free from internal disturbance and invasion by the Mongols from outside.'

This is apparently a recension of 'Isāmī's Persian poetry to that effect though up till then the *Futūh-i-Salāṭīn* had not been unearthed. Addressing Malik Kāfür on the eve of his march to Wārangal the emperor said :

'O my talented warrior, I charge you to march towards Teling with a large army. On your arrival in the suburbs of Teling you should subject the whole area immediately to effec-

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The above extract from the *Futūḥu's-Salāṭīn* contains an outline of the principles of the Khalji imperialism. That is, Malik Kāfür was ordered to note that the war he was going to wage in the Deccan was no war of religion and no orders for the demolition of temples and places of sanctity were given.

abridgement of Indian epical folk-lore with the advent of the Turks. Many of the words and phrases in the verses of his *razmnāmah* taken from the imagery of war reverberate the jingo of the sword and the rattling of arms and scenes of loot, plunder and bloodshed. Again, the *razmnāmah* in the *Futūhu's-Salāṭīn* being an essential part of a *Shāh Nāmah* lends a peculiar charm to it and surcharges it with the militant spirit of those times of stress and storm. And the mind of the author, it is evident from all kinds of verses in it, is saturated with the religio-political consciousness, characteristically medieval.

Through his *Shāh Nāmah* 'Isāmī secured a niche in the temple of learning and fame and has been included in the galaxy of medieval historians. In spite of the fact that he was primarily a poet of folk-lore and composer of *masnavis* for he had prior to the *Futūhu's-Salāṭīn* written in vain two *diwans* or sets of poems drawing inspiration from Firdausī and Nizāmī neither of whom being a historian—'Isāmī possessed all the talents and equipments of a historian, e. g. an inquisitive mind, access to all circles of society and culture not excluding militarism, a taste for stories of the past, penmanship, synthetic mind and above all the imagination of a historian. Equipped with these and many more qualities he plunged into the sea of facts and did not founder. He brought together different kinds of facts and figures, and listed them as episodes with distinct headings. But he did not leave them there unconnected as Dr. Hardy is inclined to think. In fact, he built a fabric out of these, bringing them all in right order even without dates by virtue of his remarkable hold on the sequence of events. As a result, he was never lost and never confused.

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CHRONOLOGY

Or

ARRANGEMENT OF EVENTS WITH DATES IN

F U T U H U ' S - S A L A T I N

(i)	Birth of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī	361/971
(ii)	His accession	387/997
(iii)	His invasion of Balkh	387/997
(iv)	His death	421/1030
(v)	Accession of Mu'izzu'ddīn Ghori to the throne of Ghaznī	569/1173
(vi)	His victory over Pithora and Gobind	588/1192
(vii)	His installing Qutbu'ddin Aibak as viceregent of Hindustān	588/1192
(viii)	His victory over Jai Chand of Kanauj	590/1193
(ix)	His invasion of Khwarazm and Balkh	601/1204
(x)	His death	602/1205
(xi)	Enthronement of Qutbu'ddin Aibak at Lahor (<i>Lāhaur</i>)	602/1205
(xii)	His death	606/1209
(xiii)	Enthronement of Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish at Dehlī	607/1210
(xiv)	Enthronement of Nāṣiru'ddīn son of Iltutmish at Lakhnauti	624/1226
(xv)	Death of Nāṣiru'ddīn son of Iltutmish	626/1228
(xvi)	Iltutmish's invasion of Bhīlsa and Ujjain	631/1233
(xvii)	Death of Sultān Iltutmish	633/1235

(xviii)	Accession of Sultān Ruknu' ddīn	
(xix)	Fīroz Shah son of Iltutmish	633/1239
(xx)	Accession of Sultān Rażiyatu' ddīn, daughter of Iltutmish	635/1237
(xxi)	Bahrām Shah son of Iltutmish	637/1239
(xxii)	Murder of Rażiya	638/1240
(xxiii)	Deposition of Sultān Mu'izzu' ddīn Bahrām Shāh	639/1241
(xxiv)	Accession of Sultān 'Alāu' ddīn	
	Mas'ūd son of Sultān Ruknu' ddīn	
	Fīroz	639/1241
(xxv)	Accession of Sultān Nāṣiru' ddīn son of Sultān Nāṣiru' ddīn	644/1246
	Sultān Nāṣiru' ddīn marches in the region of Uch and Multān to repulse Mongol invasion	
(xxvi)	A son born to Sultān Nāṣiru' ddīn	656/1258
(xxvii)	Death of Sultān Nāṣiru' ddīn	657/1258
(xxviii)	Accession of Ghīyāṣu' ddīn Balban	665/1266
(xxix)	Balban's expedition in the region of Chittor	665/1266
(xxx)	Balban's expedition in the direction of Lahor	666/1267
(xxxi)	Rebellion of Tughrīl at Lakhnauti	667/1268
(xxxii)	Balban marches to Lakhnauti to suppress this rebellion	669/1270
(xxxiii)	Accession of Sultān Mu'izzu' ddīn	670/1271
	Kaiqubād son of Bughra Khān	
(xxxiv)	Accession of Sultān 'Alāu' ddīn Muḥammad Shāh Khaljī	686/1287
		694/1294

(xxxv)	His death	715/1315
(xxxvi)	Accession of Shihābu'ddin 'Umar son of Sultān 'Alāu'ddin Muḥammad Shāh <u>Khalji</u>	715/1315
(xxxvii)	Accession of Quṭbu'ddin Mubārak Shāh son of 'Alāu'ddin <u>Khalji</u>	716/1316
(xxxviii)	Accession of <u>Khusrau Khān</u> (Nāṣiru'ddīn)	719/1319
(xxxix)	Accession of <u>Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq</u> Shāh	720/1320
(xl)	Accession of Muḥammad Shāh son of Tughluq Shāh	724/1324
(xli)	Enthronement of Sultān 'Alāu'ddīn Bahman Shāh at Daulatābād	748/1347
(xlii)	Arrival of Sultān 'Alāu'ddīn Bahman Shāh at Gulbarga	748/1349

One of these dates is wrong¹ and two are doubtful.² That which is wrong is 724 indicating the accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq, and those which are doubtful are—the date of Raziya's accession and that of 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji's.

1 The date of Muḥammad bin Tughluq's accession according to 'Iṣāmī is 724; but it is wrong. Since he fixes five years as duration of the reign of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Tughluq and at the same time gives 720 as the date of his accession (verse 7403), The accession of Muḥammad bin Tughluq took place in 725, not in 724.

2 The doubtful dates are those which are assigned by 'Iṣāmī to the accession of Raziya and that of 'Alāu'ddīn Khalji. Cf. C.P. K.D. pp. 104, 156.

GEOGRAPHY IN FUTŪHŪ'S-SALĀTĪN

GEOGRAPHY (literally science of the earth's surface) here signifies the science of Indian soil including her physical and natural beauty, climate, population and topography. All this is depicted by 'Iṣāmī in a poetic vein. But the subject matter of geography bringing out its effect upon history and on the nature and course of events is not traceable in the *Futūhū's-Salātīn*. Of the Indian mountains Qarachal' (Himalaya) finds mention. Among the hills, Firoz Koh and Koh Alī Shāh and Koh-i Jūd are mentioned together with a few doubtful names like Hind Jatrāli, Hind-i 'Alī Vāhan and Sang-i Surākh. Firoz Koh was another name of Bhokal Pahārī (hill), south-west of Kilukhārī. Koh-i 'Alī Shāh was the name of a hill near Sāgar and Koh-i Jūd indicated the Salt Range, now in West Pakistan.

Among the rivers the following have been noticed: Āb-i Biyāh, i.e. Beas; Āb-i Tāwī, i.e. Tapti; Āb-Jhanwari, i.e. Benithora, east of Gulbarga; Āb-i Jihūn, i.e. Oxus; Āb-i Ravi, i.e. the river Ravi; Āb-i Sarv, i.e. the river Sarjū; Ab-i Sind i.e. the Indus; Āb-i Karna, i.e. the Kistna; Āb-i Ghatab, i.e. the river Prabha, a tributary of the Kistna; Keenha, i.e. the Kistna; Āb-i Jaun, i.e. the Jamuna; Āb-i Gang, i.e. the Ganges.

Then are mentioned many towns¹ and some villages,²

^{1, 2} It is difficult to identify the uncommon places mentioned by 'Iṣāmī. Some tentative suggestions are hereby made.

e. g. Akar,³ Arka,⁴ Ahranwara,⁵ Almala,⁶ Akalkot,⁷ Mahendri,⁸ Burum,⁹ Abri¹⁰ Kīthūn, Urdūn,¹¹ Barram,¹² Bust,¹³ Balkatāra,¹⁴ Bir,¹⁵ Tālkota,¹⁶ Tablawad,¹⁷ Tardal,¹⁸

3 Akar : In the *Burhān-i Maāṣir* (p. 18) Akar is mentioned as a police station (*thāna*) near Tardal, i. e. present Bijapur district.

4 Arka : From the context it appears to have been a place between Sāgar in the Gulbarga district of Mysore and Mundhol.

5 Ahranwāra : From the context it appears that it is Nahrwala, now Patan, which was then the capital of Gujarat.

6 Almala : From the context it appears to have been a place near Sagar,

7 Akalkot : It was the capital of the erstwhile state of the same name. Now it is in Sholapur district of Maharashtra.

8 Mahendri : The *Burhan-i Maāṣair* (pp. 17, 19) has Mendri. It may be Maīndargi, just below Akalkot in south-east.

9 Burum : This is perhaps Moraā in Osmanabad district of Maharashtra, situated a few miles to the north-east of Akalkot.

10 Abri Kithūn : These were probably two villages in the vicinity of Dehli.

11 Urdūn or Ardun : Perhaps this was a town in the country of the Mongols.

12 Barrām : An outport of Sirhind.

13 Bust : This was a town in Khurasan. Now it is included in Afghanistan.

14 Balkatāra : It is the same as Talkatora, south of old Dehli.

15 Bir or Bhīr : Formerly in Hyderabad State and now in Bhīr district of Maharashtra.

16 Tālkota : This might be the famous Talikota, now in the Bijapur district of Mysore.

17 Tablawad : This may be identified with Petlad in the Kaira district of Gujarat.

18 Tardal : The *Burhān-i Maāṣir* (pp. 18, 23) mentions it as a place along with Jamkhandi. It lay a few miles to the west of it.

Garkot,¹⁹ Taknūr,²⁰ Thāla,²¹ Jamkhandī,²²
 Jarati,²³ Chandgarh,²⁴ Chinchwāl,²⁵ Dangrī,²⁶
 Dharūr,²⁷ Komta,²⁸ Koer,²⁹ Kuhrām,³⁰ Kandhar,³¹

¹⁹ Garkot: It may be identified with Bagalkot. The *Burbān-i Maāsir* (p. 23) has Bagalkot which lies a few miles to the east of Jamkhandī.

²⁰ Taknūr or Matkūr was perhaps a mountain pass somewhere between Bir and Dharūr, Dharūr being a few miles south-east of Bir.

²¹ Thāla: This appears to have been a place in the vicinity of Dehli.

²² Jamkhandī: This was the capital of the erstwhile state, now in Bijapur district.

²³ Jarātī: Barani's printed text (p. 58) in the corresponding passage has Jalāli. Hāji Dabīr vol. II, p. 732 has Charali. At present it is difficult to identify it.

²⁴ Chāndgarh: This appears to be one of the two Chandgarhs in the Belgaum district near Sholapur.

²⁵ Chinchwāl: The *Burbān-i Maāsir* (p. 16) has Jinjwāl. It may be identified with Chhinwāra.

²⁶ Dangrī: From the context it appears to have been somewhere near the river Tapti. One Dangri is mentioned by Hāji Dabīr (pp. 61, 268, 321) to be situated near Burhanpur, not far from the Tapti.

²⁷ Dharūr: This is in Bir district of Maharashtra.

²⁸ Komta: This may be identified with Kummata, the military fortress of Rai Kampila and was conquered by Sultān Muhammād in the course of his war with Bahā'u'ddin Gurshāsp and Rāi Kampila.

²⁹ Koer: The *Burbān-i Maāsir* (pp. 16-17) has Kotar; and it may be identified with Kohir, situated now in the Medak district of Andhra Pradesh.

³⁰ Kuhrām: This is a place in the cis-Satlej area of the Punjab.

³¹ Kandhār: This is the Qandahar of Deccan according to the *Burbān-i Maāsir*. It lies in the Nanded district of Maharashtra. An inscription of Muhammād bin Tughluq has been found at this place.

Kaithal,³² Kilukharī,³³ Kīlī,³⁴ Kalānaur,³⁵ Kalkarū,³⁶ Kalyān,³⁷ Kambā,³⁸ Kampīla,³⁹ Kotgīr,⁴⁰ Kandhiyāna,⁴¹

32 Kaithal : This was a famous place of the Sayyids in the 8th century Hijra (14th century A.D) in the Karnal district of east Punjab.

33 Kilukharī : Sultan Mu'izzu'ddin Kaiqubād had built a new city bearing this name; also called Shahr-i Nau near the left bank of the river Jamuna.

34 Kīlī : This was a place in the north of Siri.

35 Kalānaur : Lying 15 miles from Gurdaspur and about 200 miles from Lahor and standing on the watershed between the Ravi and the Beas, Kalanaur was then a place of great strategic importance and had remained under the possession of the Mongols till Muhammad bin Tughluq's time. He conquered it and drove out the Mongols.

36 Kalkarū : From the context this appears to be immediately below Gulbarga. It may be identical with Kalkal mentioned by Firishta in his account of the Bahmani kings.

37 Kalyān or Kalyani : This is a place in the Bidar district of Mysore where an important Sanskrit inscription of Muhammad bin Tughluq has been found.

38 Kambā : This may be identified with Kembhavi now in the Gulbarga district of Mysore, situated about 16 miles to the west of Sāgar.

39 Kampīla also called Kampili lay in the hills south of Dvarasamudra, comprising Raichur, Dharwar and Bellary. It had not been annexed to the empire of Dehlī until Muhammad bin Tughluq's time.

40 Kotgīr : It was an important stronghold of the kingdom of Wārangal and was conquered by Muhammad bin Tughluq (Ulugh Khān) during the reign of his father. It now lies in the Nizamabad district of Andhra Pradesh.

41 Kandhiyāna : This is modern Kōndhana, about 12 miles from Poona. It is also known as Sinhagāth.

Gopālgīc,⁴² Lajauca,⁴³ Miraj,⁴⁴ Malikhir,⁴⁵ Mandalgarh⁴⁶
 Mandhol,⁴⁷ Mahadibarī,⁴⁸ Malwa,⁴⁹ Hānsi⁵⁰ Satsāwa,
 Hakērī,⁵¹ Sandhatan⁵² (Sundheen), Sūrath,⁵³ Siram,⁵⁴

42 Gopālgīc: According to Hodliwala (vol. II, p. 83) this is a place in Bharatpur district.

43 Lajauca: This is a mountain pass between Elichpur in Berar and Deogir. But Hodliwala identifies it with Lusura, about 10 miles west of Daulatābād.

44 Miraj: This is a place in south Sataba district of Maharashtra.

45 Malikhir: This may be identified with Malkhed in the Gulbarga district of Mysore.

46 Mandalgarh: This is a place lying in the Bhilwara district of Rajasthan, between Chittor and Bundi.

47 Mandhol: This may be identified with Mudhol in Bijapur district, a few miles south of Jamkhandi.

48 Mahādibarī: From the context it appears that it was a place lying immediately outside Daulatābād, northward in the direction of Sāgūn pass.

49 Malwa: This appears to have been a place south of the river Godavari towards Damkhela mentioned by 'Isāmī and in the vicinity of Bir.

50 Hānsi Satsāwa (Sirsā?): These were two places in Sirhind, Satsāwa is a place, a few miles north-west of Saharanpur.

51 Hakērī: This is Hukeri district in the Belgaum district, mentioned in the *Burbān-i Alāsir*.

52 Sandhatan (Sundheen): From the context it appears to have been a place lying between Bir and Daulatābād, somewhere south of the Godavari.

53 Sūrath: This may be identified with Sorath by which name the present Kathiawad was then known. Even now the region comprising Junagadh district is known as Sorath.

54 Siram: This is a place in the Gulbarga district of Mysore on the Wadi-Secunderabad section of the Central Railway.

Satalgah⁵⁵ or Sitalgarh, Sarkhas,⁵⁶ Sarketch,⁵⁷ Sāgar,⁵⁸ Sunārī,⁵⁹ Katgah,⁶⁰ Karrichor⁶¹ Kān Gāon⁶² and a few others.

SUFI POET

İşāmī is *par excellence* a ṣūfī poet. He was a born ṣūfī and remained throughout his life, essentially a man of the soul. That is, he nourished the soul to the exclusion of his body; and suppressed completely his carnal self in order to attain union with God. He looked upon God as the best of sufis do, namely as 'Friend and Beloved of the soul.' There are good many verses in the *Futūhu's-Salātīn* which show that

55 Satalgah or Sitalgarh: From the context it appears that this was a place between Deogir or Devagiri and Mirāj.

56 Sarkhas: This is the name of a famous town of those days in Khurasān. Now it lies in Afghanistan or Russiaian Turkistan.

57 Sarketch: This may be identified with Sarkhej about five miles from the present limits of Ahmadabad.

58 Sāgar: This is Sagar in the Gulbarga district of Mysore,

59 Sunārī: From the context it appears to have been a place at a short distance from Daulatābād towards Bidar.

60 Katgah or Khetaka: This was one of the sections of the city of Daulatābād, reported by Ibn Battūṭa.

61 Karrichūr: The *Burbān-i Maāṣir* (p. 22) in the corresponding passage gives Karāpchūr which may be identified with Karrichūr. It is described as a part of the territories of Huraib or Harihar, the founder of Vijayanagar. It appears that Karrichūr in question was no other than Kunjarakona or Anegundi of Harihar. He transformed it into Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D. Vide Venkataramanyya, *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 205.

62 Kan Gāon or Kanga Gāon: This was a village in the Gulbarga or Bidar district.

he believed strongly in performing *tauba* (penitence), *ṣabr* (patience) and *shukr* (gratitude); and he preferred to live a life of poverty (*faqr*) and abstinence (*taqua*), spurred by hope (*rijā*) and controlled by fear of God (*khauf*). He aimed at obtaining *wiṣāl* (merging in the Divine Being), which was impossible without his completely renouncing self-love and pleasures of the flesh. Again, like the best sufis 'Isāmī believed strongly in self-discipline which was impossible to attain without the performance of *namāz*, *roza*, *zakāt* and *hajj* and without at the same time abstaining from indulgence in drinks and luxuries. Believing in the *ṣūfī* tenet to offer spiritual guidance to those who desired it 'Isāmī held that the task of his life lay in admonishing the reader through presentation of the data and their interpretation, thus enabling him to pursue the path of fellowship and communion with the Creator, the Almighty God. 'Isāmī had the strongest faith in Him. God was in his eyes not only omnipotent, omniscient and merciful but also a stern judge of human actions and the dispenser of justice. He believed that God was Love; and love was the essence of all religious teachings. 'Isāmī who was a Sunnī had a soft corner in his heart for the *mashāikh* and had a special regard for the Prophet's *ĀL* (*abl-i bait*) including Hazrat 'Alī whom he considered as the Leading Sufi.

FUTŪHU'S SALATIN
OR
SHAH NĀMAH—I HIND OF ISĀMI
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY
Volume I

CHAPTER I
SHĀH NĀMAH CONCEIVED
ARGUMENT

Verses 1-288

In the name of Allah, Merciful and Compassionate

FUTŪHU'S-SALĀTĪN¹

Tauhīd of the Creator, Great and Glorious

1-3 With the name of God, lord of both the worlds, wise men commence a book. Every book which has opened with His name has attained completion in the end. A pen which does not insert His name in the beginning of a book must be burnt because there is no pen worse than such a pen.

4-7 The best writer is he, who, on taking up the pen, writes His name at the top of the book. Through that name, if his belief is firm, he can capture the world. This is my conviction. O God-knowing man, weigh my word and think over this matter in your heart for a while. How can you afford to forget Him who gave you control over pen when you take it up?

8-9 He is no other than God whose command makes the weak pen work on paper; otherwise how could the hand of a writer produce a sound from a reed moving on paper?

10-11 Through one stroke of His pen of ordination, the world's night and day came into existence. He is the creator of everything that exists and everything owes its existence to Him.

12-15 Through His wisdom He created in the course of six days not only the two worlds but eighteen thousand different worlds. Had He desired He would have created a hundred thousand of such skies, earths, stars and meadows

¹ Literally victories of kings.

in one moment. But His wisdom demanded that the universe be created according as He had ordained.

16-18 When He pronounced 'be' His will worked out instantly the lay-out of two marvellous gardens—one to serve for men of path as a supply base filled with rubbish and thorns, fruits and flowers, and another to serve as a base of appraisement for our deeds and the place of recompence for our effort and negligence.

19-23 It contains seven torturing grates for punishment and eight gardens for the reward of good deeds. While the birds of good omen would go into the gardens; into the grates will be thrown the fire-worshippers. He does whatever He likes while no one is aware of it; human wisdom cannot penetrate this path. Philosophers are dismayed in this path. Who has the courage to question His doing? They lit up many a candle of knowledge but were consumed like moths.

24 Many lives have been lost in search of Him but none has discovered the depth of this water.

25-33 I am told that one day, in ancient times, it so happened that a man was pursuing a snake in order to kill it. In the course of that hot pursuit many ants were killed. As soon as that swift-footed man drew close, he struck the head of the snake with a stick three or four times. Then the head-pounding stick was broken and a living worm who was in the stick was cut into two pieces. The wounded snake bit the man, and both of them died after a short time. Reason said :

'Since the snake was venomous, it was befitting that the man became annoyed with it. And on account of the wound which had been inflicted

on the snake by that man, the snake was justified if it attempted to kill the man. But what was the fault of the poor ants that they were killed in the course of killing the snake? And what about that worm which had lived comfortably inside the stick? What was its fault that it lost its life at the time of beating?

34 O sharp-sighted reader, if you look intensively, you will see every moment that which they show to you and no more.

35-36 What do you know about the amount of good and harm done to a worthy or unworthy person by a mean fellow? One person lights a lamp by means of a straw and the same straw scotches the eyes of another person.

37 The very God, who has created beneficial and harmful things, sometimes puts sting and sometimes honey in them.

38 The same God has provided ants with honey-loving mouths, and the same God has established stings in the mouths of snakes.

39-48 Who has the courage to call in question this matter by saying why and wherefore? God created the opposite of all things in order that the value of everything may become known. In every breast He has installed fear and hope—the former being heart-distracting and the latter soul-exhilarating. He has created paradise as well as hell and believers as well as fire-worshippers. He has created high lands as well as low lands and has roofed this earth with nine skies. Among the various things that He has created may be counted sin and devotion, retribution and generosity, life and death, existence and non-existence, night and day, sun and moon, morning and evening, flower and

thorn, mountain and dale, game and snare, fire and water, earth and wind, pain and cure, oppression and justice, beauty and ugliness, fairies as well as demons and poor dervishes as well as glorious kings. Know that whatever exists, exists through His command. Which is the head that can avoid a blow from His polo-stick (*chaugān*)?

49 Each and all are subject to His command whether it be the ruin of an enemy or the prosperity of a friend.

50-51 It is mere justice on His part, no oppression, if He involves a friend in trouble or if He exalts an enemy. Even if He kills a living being there can be no ground for complaint.

52-53 Sometimes He transfers a certain person from hell into paradise and sometimes He takes one from the Ka'ba into a temple. Nobody except He knows why man—a handful of earth—is sometimes in the heights of glory and sometimes in the abyss of destruction.

54-55 Every drop of water which the wind brings down as also every particle that grows from earth is meant for the livelihood of a living being; and on that livelihood is kept a custodian who carries out (divine) orders.

56-58 Sometimes He maintains life on earth by means of water and sometimes He employs the same water to destroy a world. All of us—even the saints and prophets—are helpless when He enforces His ordained will. In this matter no one has any control. If there is anything like control, it amounts to nothing but helplessness.

59-62 Look! Both the worlds, which have sprung from His ordination, are like a piece of an ordinary thread with two ends. The power of imagination with its

attributes tried its best to find out the beginnings of this entangled thread but failed utterly at last to trace its inception. Power of thinking is one of the issues of His ordination. He dominates wisdom, intellects being prisoners in His chain.

63-64 You should seek from the learned guides the solution of every problem that arises. This is proper; otherwise, I am afraid, you will be separated like the ignoramus from the company of wise men.

65-68 On our part we have to make submission amidst humility, helplessness, apology and supplication while that merciful King would show His grace. None of us will remain in a uniform state. He alone was, will be, and is. This is all. The world from end to end—new as well as old—is a drop out of the ocean of His creative power. From that drop—the drop of water as well as the particle of sand—the universe, from the fish to the star, came into being.

69-70 What is this earth in comparison with the universe? O God-knowing man! And on this earth what is the stature of man that he should praise Him? What an absurdity!

71-74 When for the first time 'Isāmī took up the pen, a flame burst forth in his heart from his thought. For a while, he was bewildered and was at a loss to proceed. Neither had he the ability to fulfil the duty of praising God in the first page in a befitting manner, nor had he the courage to begin writing the book without His name; and so face complete failure.

75-77 If he revoked His name from the book, he would be defeating the object of writing. So, under sheer necessity, he drew the sword of excuses; and making the

interceder for the 'earthly beings; a king of the prophets and the choicest of creation. Through his merits the world will obtain deliverance. In the turmoil of the Day of Judgment while every other prophet will be raising a cry of 'Save my soul,' he, for our sake, would say, 'Save my followers'.

91-93 He is the aim of this world and hereafter, otherwise the sky and the earth would be futile. Who can hide this very secret when God Himself says, 'Laulākā'¹? All angels are enlisted as his followers. His supreme position has surpassed that of all the heavenly bodies.

Description of the night of mi'rāj² of Muḥammad-i-Muṣṭafā: peace on him!

94-99 One night he galloped his horse and left this bloody earth. By the dust of his foot the sky was honoured; and the earth being deprived of this honour hung its head low. On seeing him the angels wanted to sacrifice their lives; the lucky stars performed the *nīṣār*.³ Gabriel

1 I. e. 'but for thee the world would not have been called out of non-existence. The name indicated by the letter *kāf* in *lau'lākā* is the emblematic name of Prophet Muḥammad. *Lau'lā-kā* is considered part of a *ḥadīs*.

2 *Mi'rāj* (literally ascent) signifies Prophet Muḥammad's 'journey to heaven'. It is believed that he was taken from the Ka'ba to the sacred sites in Jerusalem and then through the seven heavens to 'the Sublime Throne and initiated into the spiritual mysteries of the human soul in Space and Time. If the Prophet's journey was a miraculous bodily journey the body was transformed into a spiritual fineness', says Abdullah Yusuf Ali. (Quran, tr. A.Y.A., p. 691.)

3 I. e. the stars surrendered themselves or their virtues as an offering to the Prophet.

held his stirrup joyfully to help him dismount, but he suddenly disappeared from Gabriel too. When he crossed the steps of the ninth sky he passed the boundary of Time and Space. When he galloped two or three stages further he dashed straight to God the *Lāmakān*.¹

100-107 He saw an open gate without an usher. When he went right in, he was given admittance. He went hurriedly into the place of secrecy and obtained a noble position by the grace of God. When he distinctly heard the salutations and peace, he became sure that he was talking to God. When he listened to the Holy Words, the garment of his consciousness was rent to pieces. At the very first sip from the wine of Divine Love, he became intoxicated. When given more to drink he was off his feet. Divine favour came to his aid and the benign Physician put the pulse of his soul in order. Verily he recovered and beheld what he beheld. He heard distinctly the ordainments one by one—affirmations, prohibitions, fasting and prayer, meditation, concentration, *hujj* and *zakāt*.

108-111 All the holy ordainments fall into three groups: *first*, those to be performed by the earthly beings publicly; *second*, those to be performed privately; and *third* those to be performed at one's option. That is all. His supplication at the court of the *Bē-Niyāz*² has opened the gate of mercy for us. All the time, he prayed for our redemption and got what he had asked for.

112-115 When that Prince of Apostles came back from the Divine Presence to his own private place, the first thing he struck his hand upon was the ablution vessel. It was

¹ Literally 'having no abode'. That is, God.

² I.e. God who is in want of nothing and lacks nothing.

still shaking. When he went into bed, curiously enough, his bed was still warm. The same night this mystery was revealed to 'Āisha, the mother of believers.

116-117 On the morrow when this blue dome opened the gate of joy to the world, the Prophet moved happily out of his bedchamber and narrated to the companions the aforesaid event of the night exactly.

118-122 To Abū Bakr he first gave out the secret. Then he described it to the other companions. When this happy news reached his companions it looked as if a breeze blew on the gardens. In this there is no room for an impossibility, since impossibilities do not exist with God. The heart of the believer became a witness of this event; another witness was the Prophet's narration. To men of piety, this event is perceptible. Should anyone express doubt about it, he would be an infidel undoubtedly.

Tribute to the four caliphs; the spiritual heritage of Shaikhū'l-Islām Zainū'l Haqq w'ash-shara' w'addīn, and applause for the second Alexander 'Alāu'-ddunīyā w'addīn Abu'l Muzaffar Bahman Shāh; may Allah perpetuate his kingdom !

123-124 Through Abū Bakr a faithful witness of the truth, 'Umar a man of justice, 'Uṣmān the sincere, and 'Alī the hero of Islām, Islām¹ was consolidated; all these four came to be its four pillars.

125 In the domain of truthfulness, justice, modesty and battle, no one has excelled these four men.

¹ The term *Shari'at* in the text signifies Islām. For the meaning and importance of *Shari'at* in history see the *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 358 ff.

126-127 Since it is not possible to give all of their merits, it would be better that in accordance with the proverb, *khairu'l kalām mā qallā wa dallā*¹ I sum the whole up in one word, i.e. all the four find mention in the Quran.

128 May there be a thousand blessings on their holy dust and a thousand glad tidings for their sacred tombs!

129-131 When 'Alī left this caravan, he entrusted the *khirqa*² to the old man of Baṣra. When Hasan departed from this world, Abdu'l Wāhid received the honour. From him it passed to Fuzail bin Ayāz who infused a new spirit into the garden.

132-148 From Fuzail, the *khirqa* reached Ibrāhīm son of Adham, who wore that garment in an angelic manner. From him Khwāja Mar'ashī obtained the *khirqa* with great delight and happiness. Afterwards it was taken in right spirit by Hubaira, who hailed from Baṣra. Then it came to Khwāja 'Uluū, an Arab who traces his descent from Dainūr.³ From him that auspicious garment was taken by Khwāja Ishāq of the Chishtī stock. Subsequently Abū Ahmad Chishtī acquired that *khirqa* which had been spun by the houris and woven by the angels. Muḥammad, who was also of the Chishtī stock, then availed himself of that auspicious garment. From him it was received by Yusuf, the Chishtī saint. When his soul went to

1 Discourse should be brief and based on evidence.

2 Literally a piece of old cloth. *Muntabā'l-'Arab*, I, p. 651.

3 Dainūr or Dīnwar—a rich city of 'Irāq conquered by the army of 'Umar I. It yielded huge amounts of revenue and became known as *Mābu'l-Kūfa* (beauty of Kūfa)

Aḥmad bin Yaqūb—*al-Buldān* (Najaf), p. 37.

paradise Quṭb-i Chishtī who was the most popular and beloved of the Chishtī house obtained it. From Quṭb-i Chishtī it passed on to the dignified Ashrafu'ddīn, commonly known as Zindanī. From him it fell to 'Uṣmān-i Hārūnī who wore it deservedly. From him that *khirqa* was secured and enjoyed for a long time by the saint Mu'īnu'ddīn Sanjatī. From him Quṭbū'ddīn Bakhtyār, commonly known as Oshī and Kākī, obtained it. After him it was worn by Farīdū'l-Haqq, the refuge of kings and sovereign in the domain of sufism. From him that robe of honour was obtained amidst a hundred glories by our master Nizāmu'ddīn. After him Khwāja Burhānu'ddīn Gharīb availed himself of it. Burhānu'ddīn gave it to the saint of the age,¹ namely Zainu'l-Haqq who knew how to do justice to that trust.

149 What a wonderful *khirqa*! It came from Muham-mad (peace on him!) to all these saints successively.

150 Whoever smelt the scent of this *khirqa* became master of both the worlds.

151-159 From that *khirqa* this lion-hearted king² and renowned monarch has received profound inspiration. He is an exalted and successful ruler of the age. His reign has revived the glory of the reign of Isfandyār.³ During his reign, Time is ashamed of oppression; through his justice the atmosphere of the world has become moderate. Since the echo of his justice has passed the nine skies, the spirit of angels is thereby revived. He is a fortunate

1 Literally the saint who marched on the right path.

2 *i.e.* 'Alā'u'ddīn Hasan Gangū Bahmanī, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty.

3 Isfandyār—a term symbolic of divine power and goodness—here signifies a son of Gushtāsp who was a king of ancient Irān.

young king gifted with the wisdom of old men, through which he captures the recalcitrants of the world. Wherever his army marches, victory acts as his herald and conquest as his guide. The head, which he wants to be severed from the body, is severed by Destiny in a moment. The man whom he wants to be imprisoned, is throttled at the neck by Destiny. In this double-faced world he has become unique; in successful warfare he has become conspicuous.

160-174 King 'Alā'u'ddīn is the refuge of the world. During his reign the aggrieved enjoy relief. From his loins has sprung Zafar Khān whose patronymic is Abu'l Muzaffar. This single man (king 'Alā'u'ddīn) is equal in strength to the strength of two-hundred armies since he is Bahmānī by descent and Bahman by name. He has revived the world by means of his generosity and justice; and the sky is resounding with his beneficence. His army has, like water, surrounded the earth; the lustre of his sword dominates the world more than the sun. All the achievements of the Iranians in the battlefield—the heroic deeds of Afrāsiyāb in Tūrān;¹ the justice and liberality of Farīdūn; the abiding mementoes of Nūshīrwān in the world; the victories associated with the sword of Kā'ūs; the magnificence associated with the name of Kāmūs; all the brave deeds of Rustam in Māzindrān and of Bīzhan in the country of Armenia; the message which Sikandar heard from the invisible voice; whatever the talented Kaikhusrāu saw in the cup of knowledge; the skill which Siyāwush had learnt from Rustam; the marvellous

¹ Tūrān stands for Turkestan or Transoxiana, so named from Tūr, the eldest son of Farīdūn. His father gave him Tūrān as an inheritance.

deeds performed by Gūdarz and Gīv; all the feats of Jamshīd; the fame for generosity that Hātam had earned in this world; the victories which Alexander son of Philip had achieved in India, China and Russia;¹ the heart of Bahman and the might of Isfandyār at the time of battle and reprisal—all these are combined in our king² of the present age. In addition, he possesses the blessings of Islām.

175-190 When the tyranny of Time handed over this country³ to a Zahhāk⁴ and through the oppression of the Zahhākī horde human beings were tortured to death and for six months in the country of Deogīr the cry of suffering believers rose from all directions and out of the blood of true Musalmans a second deluge swept the world, then in such a critical condition you, O renowned king, girded up your loins to wage war against the tyrant.⁵ You unsheathed

1 Alexander possessed no knowledge of China and Russia. The farthest city in Asia that he founded on the Jaxartes was named Alexandria the Farthest, now known as *Chodjend*. 'Isāmī followed strictly the Iranian legend which attributes to Alexander the conquest of India and the subjugation of China and Russia, including his march across 'the Land of Darkness to the Well of Life at the world's end.' C.A.H., vol. vi, p. 402.

2 That is, all the qualities and achievements with which the heroes of ancient Irān are credited find expression in the personality of Sulṭān 'Alā'u'ddīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī.

3 *I.e.* India.

4 Zahhāk—a king of the Peshdadian dynasty of Irān, proverbial for his tyranny. Here Zahhāk stands for Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Zahhākīyān for his army and officers like 'Imādu'l-Mulk Sartez.

5 For the story of the 'tyrant's war with Zafar Khān (Sulṭān 'Alā'u'ddīn Ḥasan Gangū Bahmanī) see the *Tughluq Dynasty*, pp. 301-302.

the dragon-like sword with which you severed the enemy's head from the body.¹ You pierced his head with a lance and crushed the whole of his army. You liberated the country from his atrocities and rescued Islām from persecution. You freed groups after groups of those who had been held prisoner in the hills and plains.

For this help of yours, rendered to God's creation, I do not know with which tongue I should thank you adequately! As long as I live, I can but sing Your Majesty's praises:

O king of the world, henceforth it will not be proper on the part of the world to sing praises of any-one other than yourself. To praise Your Majesty has become the duty of all high and low; particularly so is the duty of men of eloquence. Wise men unavoidably invoke blessings on you whenever they raise their hands in prayer. When a baby's tongue is set for speaking it would be wrong if it pronounced anything but your praise. As soon as the hand is set for writing, it is incumbent on the writer to write your praise first.

191-205 I have a secret to disclose, if Your Majesty would grant protection. I am told when the wise Firdausī began to write the *Shāh Nāmah* he received inspiration from the shrine of Muṣṭafā after receiving the help of the Almighty God. When he began to compose verses he received whole-hearted support from the king of Ghaznī. Night and day Maḥmūd anxiously made enquiries about him. Every moment he showed indulgence to him; not a while did he allow him to be disturbed. When Firdausī obtained such warm en-

¹ *Op. cit.*

couragement and found the king heartily interested in the matter he took up the pen and began to dig up the mine of jewels. To begin with he secured the histories of Irān and Tūrān from the old historians. Then he sat in a private chamber and brought his mind into harmony with his genius. Later he wrote a charming book and transformed the fireplace into a paradise. Those who pluck flowers from this garden attribute it to the celestial paradise. What a marvellous coin he set up in the dominion of literature! On it he struck the name of Mahmūd. If against the counsel of that miserly minister the king had given an elephant-load of gold from the treasury to the sharp-witted Firdausī he would not have been put to shame in the world.

206-217 I am told that Firdausī's object in composing that book was to acquire the province of Raiy¹ from the king. When the poet did not get his object he purchased a tumbler of barley-water in exchange for the royal reward. Neither do I see Mahmūd in his place to-day, nor even Firdausī. That book, I notice, has remained as a memento of their names in the world. As long as the world lasts, the *Shāh Nāmah* will remain together with the names of the kings it describes. Since I—a slave of Your Majesty—have received God's favour and found the way to ascertaining the truth through praising the Prophet, I now pray the all-knowing God to make your royal heart kind to me. If Your Majesty's favour were extended to me and if I were accepted as

¹ Raiy—an old city of Irān, now in ruins. On its ruins in the vicinity of Teherān has sprung a new town called Shāh Abdu'l Azīm after the name of a saint, buried there.

your panegyrist, I would produce a garden-like book out of the history of the kings of Hindustān. I will decorate it with the royal insignia and make it known in every country. As soon as this book is completed in your name it will become current among all—high and low. The world will drink a toast in your honour and the book will be taken from Hindustān to Ghaznī.

218-226 By writing this book, O gracious king! I swear by the Almighty God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, my object is nothing but *ittebā'*.¹ Neither do I desire Raiy from Your Majesty, nor the price of barley-water, since you give to a suppliant as much as the spring clouds give unasked for. Moreover, my object is to pay a tribute to you, O king of the victorious army, for you have saved Islām from tyranny.

O God, for the sake of Thy Godhead and for the sake of the profound truthfulness of the righteous Prophet, make me attain my object which Thou knowest. In the name of Maḥmūd's love for Ayāz and in the name of the life of Firdausī, maker of magic, as long as even a single couplet of the *Shāh Nāmāh* is utilized and as long as goodness exists in the world, O God, pray, keep the king² in full power on the *kīyānī*³ throne as defender of the faith of Ahmad!

¹ That is, following Firdausī and writing the *Shāh Nāmāh* of Hindustān on the lines of, and in continuation of, the *Shāh Nāmāh* of Irān.

² This is a prayer for the prolongation of the reign of Sultan 'Alā'u'ddin Ḥasan Bahman Shāh.

³ *Kīyānī* throne is an expression for royal power, taken from the title of an ancient ruling dynasty of Irān.

Uttering complaint at the royal court against the age and people of the age.

227-247 O king, if before now this sordid world were as mean as it is today, not a single man of skill would have become renowned in this faithless world. Neither a *Shāh Nāmah* nor a *Khamsa*, nor any poetic collection from ancient poetry would have seen the light of day. Even if a master-mind of skill were to appear, he would have been driven to insanity at the hands of the noisy fools. Alas ! the whole world has become a fraud; in its bazaar truth has become a rare commodity. The only right point about the world today is that truthfulness has disappeared from the men of learning. He whose tongue moves today is considered exclusively the talented man of the age. Such people are time-servers, neither firm in war, nor in peace. With a hundred applications they learn a word; they display it and boast about it at every party. They make noisy boasts and look upon a teacher as a pupil. If they achieve an object, they become venomous to others. And when they attain a position, they become the stone that breaks the glass of the happiness of others. None has remained now in this fault-finding world except the uncultured and the garrulous. Through the crookedness of their minds they cut down a correct word as if by a sickle in every party and assembly. They express doubts about indisputable verses. They erase eloquent compositions. They know nothing about word and meaning; nor is there a trace in them of their understanding any metre. They become arbiters¹ between Nizāmī and Khusrav. Should anybody advise

¹ That is, they act like a judge to assess the literary achievements of Nizāmī of Ganja and Amir Khusrav of Dehli.

them they would not listen. Sometimes they say, 'That is better than this'; and sometimes they say, 'This is unfit.' In their own opinion everyone among themselves is an Abū 'Alī. This egoism on their part is through stupidity. If after a generation this fool-appreciating world allowed a talented man to become prominent, they would belittle him by means of sarcasms. As an unavoidable result of the noise made by these fools, the talents of a wise man remain hidden.

248-259 How well did that talented man of Ganja who composed valuable poems like a treasure¹ say when he felt inspired:

'On an appropriate occasion I have many valuable thoughts, but I do not display them unless some one expresses a desire for them.'

When a buyer of pearls has closed his eyes like a shell, pearls cannot be sold in such a dull market. When the market is full of glass-sellers, the jeweller should seal his box of pearls. From these people of crooked vision and blind conscience, I see no escape except in dissociating myself from them. I should secure a place of seclusion for some time since I am a guest of this country for a few months. I have remained a hostage, city-bound, in Hindustān in order to complete this book of royal taste (*Shāb Nāmah*). I intend journeying into another world. I have developed another idea in my head. I have set my mind on that work which has inspired me; and I shall lay down my life in its cause which is soul-nourishing. As soon as I finish this book, I shall put an end to my activities. To be able to complete this soul-inspiring book, which has prevented me from proceeding towards my projected

¹ See verses 368-372 *infra*.

journey, I am seeking, in addition to divine help, the support of Your Majesty.

Giving caution in adopting the path

260-263 In this path I have been unable to make a discourse, due chiefly to the weakness of my belief.¹ Like birds, we came into this meadow. Into this farm we came as eaters of corn. What kind of corn?—the corn which, as soon as Adam saw it, he readily purchased even at the cost of his paradise. If we obey Him faithfully, this corn will not be forbidden to us.²

264-266. Thanksgiving is incumbent on us. But on the contrary, we make complaints. We are prone to be ungrateful to our benefactors. We would not be contented with anything, even if, on the table there were manna and quails. We say, 'Where are leeks? Where are horse-radishes?'. The whole year we are accustomed to behave in this way.

267-288. 'Iṣāmī, night and day, in season and out of season, be grateful to the dervish as well as to the king. Seek from the table of kings a crumb of bread and from the straw-bag of a dervish both the worlds. How long will you, like women-folk, bother about name and shame? Keep aloof from everyone, high and low. In order to learn decorum you should look for a man of decorum. Who can learn decorum from an unseemly person? Whatever the man of decorum tells you as improper, do not do. What-

1 *I.e.* this path is so delicate that I am unable to explain it in spite of my great efforts.

2 These verses contain a reference to the belief that Adam had eaten the wheat which had been forbidden by God with the result that he was deprived of the bounties of paradise. Therefore 'Iṣāmī impresses on the reader the need for acting and moving in accordance with Divine will.

ever is done by the ill-mannered and does not appear to be good, avoid. You are not a cripple. Go round the world, making a tour of it with the object of acquiring experience. At every step your labour will be rewarded ; every moment you will be given a treasure of secrets. On going out of seclusion, you should put a chain on the foot of your passions, closing both of your ears, both of your eyes, and both of your lips. Joys and sorrows of the world should be immaterial to you. Nowhere must you cite anything but the name of God. Look for nothing else other than the beneficence of God, otherwise dangers will abound in every look ; and the tongue will beget untold dangers. Pass carefully through the seven stages so that you should reach the destination easily like Rustam arriving at Mazindrān. Should you abstain from evil in this journey you would achieve your object and attain success. It would be wrong on your part to attempt going near a road that might divert you from the right path. Go round the world immediately like a resolute man. How long will you remain in the cottage in the manner of widows? Pluck a fresh flower from every garden ; from every red wine taste a little. Perhaps you might contact a person, able to pour material and spiritual wealth into your cup. If you be tired of society and if your mind be drawn towards solitude amidst the mountains, you should go into deep meditation from which you must not emerge as long as you live. If in this manner you pursue this path, you might be halting and travelling at one and the same time. You might obtain seclusion in every thoroughfare; and in spite of this seclusion, your mind might travel far and wide. Pursue this till you are able to see the glory of God in every direction—left, right, below, above, before and behind.

The commentary at the end of each chapter in this book undertakes to make up lee-way discussing the emergent issues and problems which remained a closed book to the poet because of the limited range of his outlook and the restrictions of a Shāh Nāmah.

COMMENTARY

In the opening verses (1-80) 'Isāmī lays stress on *tauhid* —the existence of one God and His great powers which are beyond human comprehension. He emphasizes the mysteries of life, universe and death. He asserts that despite these mysteries and the frequent misfortunes and mishaps that befall mankind and despite the oppression of the strong over the weak, man must never lose faith in God since everything that takes place in this world is strictly according to a divine scheme.

But *tauhid*, to be properly understood, should be followed in the Sura *Ikhlas* or Sura *Tauhid* of the Quran:

‘Say: He is God,
The One and Only;
God, the Eternal, Absolute;
He begetteth not,
Nor is He begotten;
And there is none
Like unto Him.’¹

This is *tauhid* which is the negation of all ideas of polytheism and anthropomorphism and which establishes His absolute existence and Personality. Finally it emphasizes the fact that all depend on Him while He depends on none—neither on persons nor on things.²

¹ Sura cxii.

² A. Y. A. Q., p. 1806.

The meaning of *tauhid* is further expounded by *Hazrat* 'Alī in a *khutba* of his. An extract from it is translated below:

'The first and basic principle of religion is to know Him and the true knowledge about Him consists in believing in Him; and correct belief in Him is to appreciate His *tauhid* (That is, He is so absolutely pure that nothing can be added to or subtracted from His Being). And the highest appreciation of *tauhid* amounts to one's complete devotion to Him; and perfect devotion to Him means that He is above all attributes.

'One should realize that there is no difference between His Person and His attributes and His attributes should not be differentiated from His Person. Whoever accepts His attributes to be other than His Person actually forsakes the idea of *tauhid* (unity of God) and believes in duality (He and His attributes). Such a person, in fact, believes Him to exist in Parts. (That is, having different parts of the body—one that sees, the other that hears, a third that feels and so on).

'One who holds such a faith cannot have a true concept of God; he is ignorant and will always try to believe in some creation of his imagination as his god. And whoever holds such a belief accepts limitations in His Being and confines Him to a place or to particular powers and attributes and brings Him in level to His creatures.

'To believe that He is invested with characteristic of a particular place (Heaven or Earth) and to point towards Him accordingly or to believe that He is restricted to a special position or occasion or to consider that certain place or time can exist without Him and

can be void of His Omniscience and Omnipresence—such a belief will result in assigning Godhead to a numerical unity. (That is, He is like a number which can be added to or subtracted from.)

‘His existence is eternal. He did not come into being in some period of time; nor was He created. He is with every body but not physically and bodily. He is away from everybody but not by way of bodily distance or of being unconcerned. He acts and works but His action or work does not entail any movement, nor does it require help of instruments. HE IS ONE AND ALONE because He has no companion who would keep His company or whose absence He would miss.’¹

To understand properly the verses 12-15 of the *Futūhu's-Salātīn* the reader may refer to the Quran which says:

‘Your Guardian-Lord is God who created the heavens and the earth in six days and is firmly established on the throne of authority’².

The creation in six days is metaphorical. Abdullah Yusuf Ali says that the days of God refer not so much to time as to the growth in us of a spiritual sense, a sense of sin and a sense of God’s mercy.³

Further it is announced that ‘a day in the sight of God is like a thousand years of our reckoning’⁴.

1 See Hazrat ‘Ali’s *khutbāt* entitled *Nahjū'l Balāgha*, pp. 97-101, Lahore, A.D. 1956. Also see English translation of the same by S. M. Askari Jafery, A.D. 1960, pp. 1-2.

2 Sura vii, verse 54

3 A.Y.A.Q. p. 355

4 *Op. cit.*

Afterwards, 'Isāmī eulogizes the Prophet as 'emperor of the world of poverty' (verses 87-90).

It should be noted that while composing these verses 'Isāmī had in view the famous saying of the Prophet: *al-faqr-o fakhrī* (poverty is my pride), which is explained by Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī in the following verse:

*Daulat-i faqr khudāyā haman arzānī dār
Kīn karāmat sabab-i ḥashmat-o tamkīn-i man ast*¹

(Grant me, O God! the wealth of poverty for it is a grace which secures me high position and dignity.)

That is, Muḥammad preferred poverty to worldly riches and crushed all mundane craving and urge of the flesh. He never lived a life of ease and comfort. Rather he fasted. For some days in the week his oven remained unkindled and he went without food for some nights although there was no dearth of means. He passed his days strenuously and spent the nights for the most part in prayer (*namāz*)². He used to pray to Allah, saying:

*Allāhummā abyēnī miskīnan wa amitnī miskīnān
wa hshurnī fī-zumrat-i-l masākīn* (O Allah, make me live the life of a poor man and make me die the death of a poor man; and resurrect me amongst the poor people.)³

He used to mix freely with the poor and had great affection for them and identified himself with them.

1 'Abbās Qummi—*Safīnat-o Bihār-il Anwār* vol. ii, p. 378
Najaf, 1355 H.

2 Khazramī, S. M.—*Tārikh-i Umāmi'l Islāmīa* vol. i. pp.
222-230 Cairo, A.D. 1921.

3 Same as footnote 1

Reference may also be made to the following verses in the Quran: 'Is it that ye deny Him Who created the earth in two Days.¹ He is the lord of all the worlds. He set on the earth mountains standing firm, high above it. And He bestowed blessings on the earth and measured therein all things to give them nourishment in due proportion in four Days in accordance with the needs of those who seek sustenance. Then turned He to the heaven when it was smoke; and said to it and to the earth: Come ye together willingly or loth. They said: We come, obedient. Then He ordained them seven heavens in two Days.²

There is nothing contradictory in the above statements, the number of days being metaphorical.

Then it should be noted that according to a saying of the Prophet there are eighteen thousand worlds. 'Isāmī refers to this saying when in verse 12 he speaks of eighteen thousand different worlds. He means to say that besides this mundane world and hereafter there are many more, for instance, *nāsūt* the human world, *malakūt* the world of angels and *lāhūt* the divine world.

Verses 19-22 in this chapter contain a reference to (i) the seven gates of hell and (ii) the eight gardens or paradises.

Regarding the first point the reader may refer to Sura xv, verse 44 of the Quran which says: 'To the Hell are seven gates.'

As for the second point it should be noted that increase in the number of paradises or gardens brings out the basic teaching of Islām to the effect that God's mercy is greater than His wrath. The phrase 'eight gardens' as it stands in verse 19 signifies bliss of different kinds in abundance.

¹ Sura xli, verse 12

² Cf. A. Y. A. Q. p. 1288

Afterwards, 'Isāmī eulogizes the Prophet as 'emperor of the world of poverty' (verses 87-90).

It should be noted that while composing these verses 'Isāmī had in view the famous saying of the Prophet: *al-faqr-o fakhrī* (poverty is my pride), which is explained by Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī in the following verse:

*Daulat-i faqr khudāyā haman arzānī dār
Kīn karāmat sabab-i hashmat-o tamkīn-i man ast*¹

(Grant me, O God! the wealth of poverty for it is a grace which secures me high position and dignity.)

That is, Muḥammad preferred poverty to worldly riches and crushed all mundane craving and urge of the flesh. He never lived a life of ease and comfort. Rather he fasted. For some days in the week his oven remained unkindled and he went without food for some nights although there was no dearth of means. He passed his days strenuously and spent the nights for the most part in prayer (*namāz*)². He used to pray to Allah, saying:

*Allāhumma abyēnī miskīnan wa amitnī miskīnān
wahshburnī fi-zumrat-i-l masākin* (O Allah, make me live the life of a poor man and make me die the death of a poor man; and resurrect me amongst the poor people.)³

He used to mix freely with the poor and had great affection for them and identified himself with them.

1 'Abbās Qummi—*Safīnat-o Bihār-il Anwār* vol ii, p. 378
Najaf, 1355 H.

2 Khazramī, S. M.—*Tārikhb-i Umami'l Islāmīa* vol. i. pp.
222-230 Cairo, A.D. 1921.

3 Same as footnote 1

Then twenty-eight verses (94-122) deal with *mirāj* —an important event which took place on the night of 27th *Rajab*, one year before Prophet Muhammad's *hijrat* from Mecca. The process of the *mirāj* as given in the Quran (Sura xvii, verse 1) is an evidence of the highest spiritual upliftment attained by his soul, mind and body simultaneously. From the *mirāj*, it is believed, he brought the *khirqa*, symbol of the highest development of human soul and mind (verse 129).

Making full use of the idea behind the *khirqa* 'Isāmī speaks hypothetically of his projected *Shāh Nāmah* which would excel all other works of this kind. Soaring higher than the material world which usually forms the *raison d'être* of a *Shāh Nāmah* 'Isāmī's *Shāh Nāmah* would penetrate into the domain of spirit and soul. Hence a large number of verses (129-151) dealing with the story of the *khirqa* which, beginning with Hazrat 'Alī, passed in succession to many saints. Finally it devolved on 'Alāu'ddīn Hasan, founder of the Bahmanī dynasty.

In verse 199 there is a reference to the legendary material hidden in the Pahlavi language that Firdausī traced and used while composing the *Shāh Nāmah* of Irān. Such material is not traceable now except in the shape of rare and abstruse *Yātgār-i Zarīrān* or the *Memoirs of Zarirs*, also called *Shāh Nāmah-i Gushtāsp*. Another work of similar nature is called *Kārnāmak-i Artakhshīr-i Pāpakān* or the *Book of the Mighty Deeds of Ardashir*, son of Bārbak. This is said to have been the sheet-anchor of Firdausī.

The verse 201 contains a pun. The word *ātishkadah* (fire-temple) primarily refers to the fact that Irān was once the country of fire-worshippers; and *ātishkadah* also

signifies a book of Persian poetry. It is also a biographical dictionary of Persian poets.¹

In verses 204-205 'Isāmī apparently blames Ḥasan Maimandī without naming him. It is true that the latter was very exacting in his dealings as wazīr. He was not only a strict disciplinarian but also highly economic; hence the accusation. But Firdausī's case at the court of Sultān Maḥmūd had been marred by the jealousy of his rivals, the most powerful amongst them being 'Unṣurī, the poet-laureate.

The verse 219 contains a reference to the story of Firdausī. After working steadily for about thirty-five years he completed the *Shāh Nāmah* of sixty-thousand verses at the age of sixty. But Sultān Maḥmūd had meanwhile changed his mind. He now offered sixty thousand silver dirhams (*circa* 36,400 rupees) instead of an equal number of gold mohurs (*circa* 5,60,000 rupees). Firdausī was enraged. When the money reached him he was in a public bath at Tūs. He disposed of the whole amount immediately—a third of it he gave away to the keeper of the bath, another third to the messenger who had brought the money and the remainder to a man who brought him some barley-water (*fuqā'*).

Bapādāsh ganj marā dar gushād

Baman juz bahā-i fuqā'-i nadād

(To reward me the Sultān opened his treasure; but he gave me nothing more than the price of a cup of barley-water.)

Verse 244 makes a brief mention of Ibn Sīnā² whose real name was Abū 'Ali Husain bin 'Abdullāh bin Sīnā.

¹ Cf. Levy—*Persian Literature* (London p. 97).

² Sīnā is symbolic of God's Light and Revelations being identical with Mount Sinai where Moses received the Divine Law. A.Y.A.Q. pp. 876, 1758

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exact number of books written by him has not been ascertained, for many were lost and even burnt. Brockelmann¹ has counted about one hundred extant Arabic manuscripts to his credit and thirteen² others have been recently published at Teherān besides another work of his on medicine called *Ishārāt* and a few other treatises which he wrote during his 4-month-long imprisonment at Hamadān. Though a pleasure-loving man he had so disciplined his life and cravings that he became the ideal man for almost all succeeding generations. And, according to an Arabic saying—*waljābilūna le-abl-il'ilm-e a'dā'u* (ignorant people are enemies of men of learning)—the people of his age, unable to appreciate his true worth and value, considered

ing the problems of life and death. A bibliography of his works (Cairo, 1950) counted 276 books of different kinds.

1 Brockelmann-Gesch. d. Arab. Litt. I, pp. 452-458.

2 (i) *Ilāhiyāt*—A manual of philosophical sciences in Persian (Teherān 1953); (ii) *Ishārāt wa Tanbihāt*—a treatise on logic and metaphysics, translated from Arabic into Persian (Teherān, 1954); (iii) *Kunūzu'l Munajjimīn*—the treasures of astrologers (Teherān, 1953); (iv) *Mabda' wa M'aād*—the first and last state—a theological treatise translated from Arabic into Persian (Teherān, 1954); (v) *Mi'rāj Nāmah*—a philosophical treatise on *mi'rāj* in Persian (Teherān 1953); (vi) *Mi'yāru'l 'Uqūl*—a treatise on science in Persian (Teherān, 1953); (vii) *Panj Risālah*—five treatises on Arabic philology in Persian (Teherān, 1954); (viii) *Rag Shināsī ya Risālah dar Nabz*—a treatise on pulse in Persian (Teherān, 1952); (ix) *Risālah-i Aqsām-i Nufūs*—i.e. psychology and soul of different kinds, in Persian (Teherān, 1955); (x) *Risālah-i Adwiya*—a treatise on medicine, in Persian (Teherān, 1953); (xi) *Dānish Nāmah-i 'Alā'i*—a treatise on logic in Persian written for 'Alau'ddawlah (Teherān, 1953); (xii) *Risālah-i Nafs*—a treatise on human soul, in Persian (Teherān, 1953); (xiii) *Tabi'iyāt*—a book on the science of physics, in Persian (Teherān, 1953).

His by-name was *Ibn Sīnā* which, rendered into Hebrew, became *Aven Sina*. Out of respect for him his contemporaries in the east referred to him as *al-Shaikh* (*Asb-Shaikh*) and *al-Rāīs* (*Ar-Rāīs*); and in the west the scholars called him *Princeps Philosphus* and *Princeps Philosophorum* (the great Master and Prince of the learned).

Born of Persian parents at *Kharmaythan* near *Bukhārā* in (368 H.) A.D. 980 he was a model of Iranian genius. At the age of sixteen he attained such a distinguished superiority that 'physicians of the highest eminence came to read medicine with him and to learn those modes of treatment which he had discovered by practice'. At the age of twenty-one he became a recognized author. About this time occurred the death of his father whereby he was deprived of that protection which he had hitherto enjoyed against his enemies. He was compelled to flee from *Bukhārā* and went to *Gurgan* (*Jurjān*)¹; whence he travelled to *Raiy*, *Hamadān* and *Isfahān* successively. At *Isfahān* he produced his masterpiece entitled *Kitābūsh-Shifā*²—a medical encyclopaedia and a *metria medica*; and shortly after he wrote another book called *Qānūn*.³ This was followed by a third book equally great and useful entitled *Rebla* *Ibn Sīnā*. He proved an indefatigable traveller as well as a writer, and continued writing on sundry topics and dwelt on different aspects of different subjects.⁴ The

¹ An ancient town at the south-east corner of the Caspian sea.

² *Kitābūsh-Shifā* was published in *Tehrān* in 1313 and *al-Qānūn* in 1284 Hijra.

³ Also known as *al-Qānūn fit-tib*; it deals with the canons of medicine.

⁴ That is, philosophy, metaphysics, music, literature, phonetics, medicine, mathematics, theology, sufism and sociology includ-

CHAPTER II

SHĀH NĀMAH UNDERTAKEN

PEN-NAME OF 'ISĀMI ADOPTED

Verses 289—387

him a magician. However, it was conceded that he had achieved a synthesis of the culture of his age. In the domain of philosophy he was the first among the Muslim philosophers to have had a coherent system of thought. He evolved a new philosophy in which Aristotelian and Neo-Platoic theories were combined with Persian mysticism.

He died in 429 H (A. D. 1037) at Hamadān where his tomb still exists.

In verse 278 the expression *haft khwān* (literally seven stages) signifies seven stages of the distance which in the course of his journey Rustam had covered in order to secure release of Kaikā'us who had been chained by the demons in the fortress of Mazindrān near the Caspian sea. He covered the distance of seven stages in seven days, encountering at each stage untold difficulties, all of which he surmounted at last.

Speaking of the glory of Poetry and talents of Poets

289-292 Let us reflect on the word *sakhun*¹ which consists of three alphabets—*sin* (س), *khe* (خ) and *nūn* (ن). The crown-like letter *sin* (س) constitutes its head, indicating that intellect follows *sakhun* like a slave. The letter *khe* (خ) stands like a belt on the kingly body of *sakhun* symbolizing the poet's equipment to conquer the world from east to west. The letter *nūn* (ن) resembling a stirrup signifies the ability of the poet to rule the universe.

293-296 I understand that the word *sakhun* was originally *sakhā* which was transformed into *sakhun* according to the rules of Arabic grammar.² I have heard from men of letters that *sakhun* was a pearl in the ocean of divine power. *Sakhun* came from the sky to the earth and it inspired the sky as well as the earth with dignity.

297-298 Poetry expresses itself through wisdom; and the gift of poetry is the distinctive mark of humanity.

1 *Sakhun* (also written *sukhan* or *sukhun*) is a Persian word and may be taken as synonymous with the English word verse. Both the words mean metrical composition or poetry in general which reaches every part of the world and conquers every human heart, irrespective of caste and creed. Like the letters—*sin*, *khe* and *nūn* of *sukhan*—each being significant and pregnant with meaning—the v, e, r and s of verse signify Victory, Enchantment, Radiance and Spheres *viz.* (earth and heaven) respectively.

2 In fact, no rules of Arabic grammar are applicable here. *Sakhā* (literally charity and generosity) which is Arabic has no connection with *sakhun* or *sukhan* or *sukhun* (meaning poetry) which is Persian.

that magic is poetry which is so charming. If there is anything like an unfailing charm in the world that charm is poetry. Compared to prose, poetry is decidedly more agreeable and fascinating.

309-30 A poet's work is little appreciated as long as he lives. It is after his death that appreciation comes. Then his work is considered priceless.

311-38 Verse is of three kinds—first *ghazal*¹ which deals with romance; second *qaṣīda*² which means eulogium. While the former is heart-ravishing, the latter is soul-inspiring. Third is *masnavī* which I love with all my heart. Every distich of a *masnavī*³ must needs have a rhyme. Barring *masnavī* composed skilfully no other kind of poetry can firmly close the two worlds between two letters.⁴ Those who claim to be poets make one to three *matla*s in one piece of poetry. In *ghazal* they do not make more than one *matla*; no scholar will have any doubt about this. But if there were a hundred thousand *masnavis* each one will have a delightful *matla*. By means of *masnavī* a poet can conveniently praise kings and sweethearts alike. Further, *masnavī* has become the most popular of all kinds of poetry because its composition is an art, possessing at once the characteristics of both *ghazal* and *qaṣīda*.

319-320 Nizāmī rules the domain of *masnavī*—the soul-reviving *masnavī*—of which he is the pioneer and

1 *Ghazal* is an anacreontic poem.

2 *Qaṣīda* is a poem or ode which may be called a longer *ghazal*.

3 *Masnavī* is a kind of poetry composed of couplets; each pair of verses rhymes together and agrees in measure.

4 That is, of all kinds of poetry *masnavī* alone can give a complete picture in the shortest manner and smallest number of words.

Many people who possess no poetic sense are garrulous; they are worse than animals.

299-301 If a simpleton holds his peace and remains mute like the cow, it will not be possible to read his character correctly. I, for one, will prefer an improper word uttered by a wise man to a thousand blessings invoked on me by the ignoramus. Only a mind which is endowed with a sense of appreciation of poetry may be regarded as human mind (possessing a high soul), while others are like clay.

302-308 A poet prefers a judicious critic to a whole world; and an ingenious poet carries all before him¹ by virtue of his poetic gifts which work like alchemy.² Verily there exists no other alchemy in this world. If there is anything like the elixir of life,³ it lies hidden in the creative mind of a poet. If there is anything like the *sibr-i halāl*⁴

1. That is, a smart poet always strikes the ball of composition with the *changān* of marvellous meaning amidst society. He enchant's society by his beautiful composition, full of marvellous meaning.

2. That is, the poetic gifts work like the *al-kīmia* which transmutes baser metals into gold. If anywhere in the world there exists that *al-kīmia* then it may be found in a mind which is capable of composing verses. All other minds are particles of sand, flying about in the sun's rays.

3. That is, the *āb-i hayāt* (water of life)—the sovereign remedy which has the characteristic effect of prolonging human life indefinitely.

4. *Sibr-i halāl* (literally permissible magic) is a term signifying poetry (*Gbiyāṣu'l-Lughāt*). *Masnavi-i Sibr-i halāl* is also the name of a poetry book in Persian. The *Sibr-i harām*, the opposite of *sibr-i halāl*, is forbidden in the Quran. Cf. Sura II, verse 102.

initiator. It goes without saying that Nizāmī stands foremost, and second to none, in this art.

*Good luck to behold Khwāja Nizāmī of Ganjā¹
(may God sanctify his tomb!) in a dream!*

¹ Shaikh Nizāmu'ddin Ilyās commonly known as Khwāja Nizāmī of Ganja was born in 1140/535 and died in 1203/600. A great mystic and epic poet of medieval Irān he has left behind many works, the most important being the Khamsa, (i) Makhzan-i Asrār (1176/572); (ii) Khusrau wa Shirin (1180/576); (iii) Laila wa Majnūn (1188/584); (iv) Sikandar Nāmab (1191/587); (v) Haft Paikar (1198/595). The khamsa (literally quintete) is so called because it is a collection of these five epic poems which are figuratively described as five treasures (*Panj Ganj*).

The Makhzan-i Asrār (treasure-house of secrets) comprising seven thousand verses gives many religious and ethical maxims. The Khusrau wa Shirin describes the love-story of the Sasanian emperor Khusrau Parvez and Shirin, an Armenian princess. The Laila wa Majnūn gives the story of the infatuation of an Arab poet Qais by name about his sweetheart Laila, both meeting eventually with a tragic fate. The Sikandar Nāmab being an epic with a medley of mysticism idolizes Alexander who is applauded as a prophet as well as a conqueror bringing into relief his search for the fountain of life. It also points out the proper place of wazir in a governmental organization. A wazir, according to Nizāmī, must be a philosopher like the great Aristotle.

The Haft Paikar (seven effigies) also called Bahrām Nāmab consists of seven stories comprising the exploits of Bahrām Gor, a legendary king of ancient Irān, and related to him by the seven princesses with whom he is supposed to have fallen in love and whom he married in succession. These princesses came from India, Byzantium (*Rūm*), Khwārizm, Turkistān (*Saqlāb*), Russia (*Oros*), Irān and China (*Chin*). To each of these princesses he gave a castle to live in. Every day he used to visit each; and whichever of the princesses was thus visited narrated to him a story.

Nizāmī—Bahrām Nāmab (Tehran, 1357 H.)

¹ Ganja—a town in the Caucasus and once the capital of

321-324 One night which was like the *shab-i qadr*¹—rather the 'Id day—while the stars were shining, each like the sun, Destiny had flung open to the expectant the gate of hope and Fate had shown favour to the needy. All disheartened persons had obtained new life, and sleep had vanished from their eyes. The bed of lovers was completely soaked with tears and the tender sweethearts were enjoying sound sleep.

325-327 If you are a lover give away your heart and sacrifice your soul for the sake of love whether realistic or metaphoric. If you have climbed the ladder step by step you can climb the remaining steps too. Should you desire to climb two steps at one time, you would not be able to climb this ladder safely.

328 You should weigh your soul in the scale of love so that you may become worthy of being a perfect lover like the standard weight of Damascus.²

the province of Arran in the Mongol empire of Irān—was captured by the Turks in A.D. 1588. Later it was recovered by Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Irān. In the first quarter of the 18th century it was reconquered by the Turks to be annexed to Irān in 1735 by Nādir Shāh. It was seized by Russia in 1804. Ganja which was the birth-place of Khwāja Nizāmi also became the place of his burial. His mausoleum which still exists stands some three miles east of Ganja.

1 *I.e.* the night of revelation which is mentioned in the Quran (Sura xcvi) as 'the mystic night of Power in which Revelation comes to a benighted world.'—A.Y.A, Q, p. 1764.

2 Among the weights that obtained in the Arab empire under the Umayyads the weight of Damascus—the seat of Caliphate—was considered the standard weight to which others conformed.

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¹ Nizāmī—Bahrām Nāmah (Teheran, 1357 H.)

Ganja—a town in the Caucasus and once the capital of

343 So much am I afraid of my misdeeds that every hope of deliverance has departed from my heart.

344 If I were asked what could be the remedy I would make no reply and would simply acknowledge my faults.

345-348 However, since Faith depends on fear and hope there is yet hope for me at the threshold of the Almighty God :—

O God ! Thou art accepting apologies from all, high and low (at all hours)—morning and evening. Although my sins have gone beyond all computation, Thy kindnesses are numerous still. Make my sigh the extinguisher of sins and let my soul dominate over my passion.

349-350 In the course of that night I offered many prayers to God, no one other than Him being aware of my supplicating mind. Both of my eyes shed tears of blood profusely while my tongue was reiterating 'Allah! Allah!'

351-359 That soul-illuminating night was half over but my heart was still in communion with my eyes. At last both the eyes became drowsy, and sleep took me forcibly into bed. I placed my head hopefully on the pillow. When I closed my eyes against black and white I beheld in a dream a guest-house which was brighter than the sun. Innumerable travellers had come into it and seated themselves in every available corner. I walked through all parts of that house and found in it people sitting face to face. But I had no inclination to talk to anyone even for a moment. After considerable wandering with an intelligent mien in that place of refinement I saw an old man seated in silence, his countenance showing signs of judgment.

329-331 Give up the talk about that topic. How far have I deviated? Where lay the dice on the chess-board and where have I lost it? Whereto did I deviate from the description of that night with the result that I left narrating the incident. What a happy night that was in respect of beauty, attractiveness and gracefulness! It was much more agreeable than the day of wedlock.

332-333 Every night the sky is looking forward, not with one but with a million eyes, expecting that that night might possibly come back to purge time of impurities.¹

334-337 In that night I had arranged a party at which my intoxicated heart was my companion as well as my graceful cup-bearer. My mind was detached from both the worlds and was reiterating this prayer:

'O God! my sins have exceeded the limit and the sigh of my supplication has passed beyond the polar star (*fargad*). I do not know what kind of bird I am in this snare that I fly gleefully in the atmosphere of sin.'

338-341 Many a time I made penance but I broke my penitence at the earliest opportunity presenting itself. No pledge could I keep through. Now I have become helpless at the hands of my wicked self. I am more broken than my broken promises. That part of the earth which is punishable—all the particles of its dust transformed into fire being intended as the abode of the guilty in the grave—should be my resting-place when I die.

342 On receiving my sinful clay fire would suffer increasingly for its sin, if sin can be committed by fire.

¹ I.e. evil days.

343 So much am I afraid of my misdeeds that every hope of deliverance has departed from my heart.

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360-361 I approached him and presented my salaam. I heard him say courteously 'alaikumu'-ssalām'.¹ I stood respectfully before him a while. When he said, 'Sit' I sat down readily.

362 In this manner was spent a unit of time; and neither from him nor from me did a word pass.

363 Then I enquired respectfully from that Light of Dawn (Nizāmī) the hidden secrets of creation, saying:

364 'Old man! what is your name? Who are you? Where do you come from?'

365-367 When he heard this he smiled and said:

'O young man, why are you making this enquiry when you know me in fact? Night and day have I been your associate. Think and look into your mind as to who is your sympathizer and helper amidst all your worries.'

368-372 As desired by that old experienced teacher I thought over the matter. I recollect that apart from the five prayers and the usual meditations I have had nothing in mind except the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī. I had been wondering what that old man of Ganja had done while he was composing the *Khamsa*. What power of enchantment did he give to his pen that every word that he wrote he invested with a treasure of magic. His expressions became the key to every science, his heart being the store of secrets.

373-374 No sweet-tongued person other than him had been crowned in the domain of composition since the creation of the universe. His verses looked like Lailā in beauty to which the world was drawn like Majnūn.

¹ I.e., my peace on you.

375 When he took the pen to write the *Haft Paikar*¹ he conquered the seven countries like Bahrām.²

376-377 He wrote a delightful book entitled *Sikandar Nāmah* in elegant *dari*.³ Had Sikandar dreamed of that book he would not have hastened towards the water of life.

378-387 When I understood the hint and realized the personality I had been conversing with, I prostrated myself before him; and putting my forehead at his feet I apologized in the most touching words for my inability to have recognized him heretofore. He was so generous that he accepted my apology and lifted my head from his feet and embraced me. He wished me a successful life like himself. This made me rejoice to such an extent that I was awakened; and immediately as I awakened I felt as if I was discrowned. But I found myself alone. Neither did the sitting remain intact, nor even a companion. My eyes

1 *Vide* p. 36 footnote 1 *supra*

2 For Bahrām Gor see verse 507. He is said to have built seven castles, like the seven planets and is supposed to have secured the hand of seven princesses in marriage from seven countries, namely, Iran, Atabia, India, China, Turkistan, Rome and Georgia. To each princess he gave a castle to live in. Each princess when visited once a week related to him a story. The *Haft Paikar* comprises these seven stories.

3 *Dari* was one of the seven dialects spoken in ancient Irān, particularly in Balkh, Bukhāra and Badakshān. *Dari* was considered a pure and elegant dialect because it was derived from *dariš* (valley) where it originated. It was also considered as the refined language of the court, the source being *dar* meaning court, as opposed to *Pahlavi* which was a language of the countryside, not so refined.

shed tears profusely like a stream of water. I have since been longing that that happy scene might be re-staged and that I could behold him again in my dream. But alas! this wish of mine has not been fulfilled though I have not given up the hope. However, since that auspicious night I have considered myself a pupil of Nizāmī and made the *Khamsa* the model of my work. When I started composing verses on the lines of Nizāmī's poetry, I adopted in all sincerity the pen-name of 'Iṣāmī'.¹

COMMENTARY

'Iṣāmī makes some preliminary observations about poetry and considers *maṣnavī*—poem in rhymed couplets—as the best vehicle of ṣūfī thought and morality. Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī wrote his ethical poem of 2,500 couplets in 656/1258 in *maṣnavī* form which became known as *maṣnavī-i ma'navī* (spiritual *maṣnavī*).

Another great *maṣnavī* writer who lived earlier in the sixth century Hijra (12th century A.D.) and possessed wider spiritual outlook and experience was Shaikh Nizāmu'ddīn Ilyās bin Yusuf commonly known as Khwāja Nizāmī of Ganja. 'Iṣāmī developed a special liking for him and borrowed his poetic thought and principles of composition. He also borrowed from him some technical points, for instance, (i) his lament over the wickedness, triumphant

¹ 'Iṣāmī' means a person who owes his fame to his own merits and does not glory in high descent and parental virtues. *Kun iṣāmīan wali takun iṣāmīz* (be self-dependent and take no pride in heritage) is an Arabic saying.

in his days' and (ii) 'his practice of abruptly passing from themes of religious poetry to those of heroic romanticism. He also shared his fate. Like Khwāja Nizāmī's *Makhzan-i Asrār* which was a masterpiece of religious poetry and had failed to bring the desired fruit 'Isāmī's first two *diwans* which contained religious poetry were ruined. When Khwāja Nizāmī was disappointed in the results of the *Makhzan-i Asrār* he turned from the pursuit of religious poetry and set his mind on writing the epic which became known as *Sikandar Nāmah*. So did 'Isāmī. No longer did he pursue religious poetry. He thought of writing a *Shāh Nāmah* of Hindustān on the lines of the *Shāh Nāmah* of *Īrān*. The result was the *Futūhu's-Salātīn*.

'Isāmī beheld Khwāja Nizāmī in a vision and listened to his admonition. Then imbued with his spirit he adopted the pen-name of 'Isāmī. How far the term 'Isāmī was suitable for the genius of the author of the *Futūhu's-Salātīn* is best answered by its 11,693 verses. They bespeak the man—a lonely person—drowned in spiritual thought and the pursuit of history and historiography. 'Isāmī, as the word literally means, was self-dependent. He was a self-made man, relying always on his own worth and merits. Again, as the word implies 'Isāmī was a man of pure character and possessed a clean soul. He was fully conscious of his sins and shortcomings for which he was sincerely repentant. His portrayal of Khwāja Nizāmī of Ganja might be fictitious but the courage and self-confidence that he since acquired cannot be ignored. He was thrown into chin-deep waters and had to swim against the current but he managed to reach the shore safely.

His triumphant end—his quiet departure from this

country and closing his life equally quietly at Mecca—speaks volumes for the genuineness of his heart and intentions. His *Futūhu's-Salātin* has proved through the ages as indispensable a link for building a connected and complete story of Indian history as Khwāja Nizāmī's *Five Treasures* in building the history of Persian literature.

CHAPTER III

SHĀH NĀMAH INTRODUCED

‘ISĀMI THE NARRATOR OF HISTORY

Verses 388—603

*Speaking of the cause behind the composition
of this book*

388-393 One night my Heart and I decided to come to the shore from the sea. But hardly could anyone come to the shore out of this sea of sorrow. What should be done to reach the shore? My Heart said:

‘After all, why do you worry? Surely it would be better if you cease worrying about this world. Take the road to safety if you are able to do so. Quit India, and make a firm resolve to perform a pilgrimage at Mecca. Proceed gracefully towards the Hijāz¹ so that by virtue of that path of Reality you may be relieved of uncertainties.’

394-395 This proposal of my Heart made my soul rejoice; my limbs co-operated under command. I prepared myself so that I should begin my journey from the border of India to the Ka‘ba.²

396-409 However, my Poetical Disposition seized me by the skirt and struck a stone at the vial of my resolve saying: ‘Hindustān is your place—the birth-place of your grandfather and forefathers. You may journey away from this country if you want to; but leave in it a souvenir. When your ancestors left the world, you survived that caravan. When you also decide to depart, you should follow the footsteps of your grandfather and forefathers’. I replied, ‘I

¹ *i.e.* Mecca, Medina and the adjacent territory.

² The sanctuary of Mecca

have no son. Barring you, O Poetical Disposition, I am attached to no one. Henceforth, I refuse to marry and decline to set up a house. If I became intimate with a slave girl and indulged in satisfying my lust, I could exert myself so vigorously in a night that I might have to choose a sweet-lipped one every month. I may go to the market every month and attach my heart to another sweetheart. I can keep with me for a month a beautiful girl and bring in another moon-faced one the next month so that I should not become a family captive and distressed during this year of famine and specially in this latest period when hardly anything other than trouble comes off in the world. In the course of nine months a pregnant woman begets a baby who, on becoming ten years old, turns out a devil'.

410-415 When my Poetical Disposition heard my statement, she replied to me in turn and said: 'Beget a son from me; then you can go away from this country. In the bottom of my womb I have many shells from each of which will be born many an offspring. In a moment I shall beget a thousand of sons, each one more refined and glorious than the other. Their life will continue till the Day of Resurrection; each of them will be bright like a pearl. Do not turn down my suggestion on the plea that I am bothering you. Should you turn it down I would not leave you, even then'.

416-417 My Heart and I heard the plea of my Poetical Disposition—the opener of treasures. And I said, 'O Heart, what is your view? What do you advise me to do in this matter?'

418 When the Heart found me in communion with the Poetical Disposition, he accepted, like myself, the suggestion of my Poetical Disposition.

419-421 My Poetical Disposition, my Heart and I—all three—undertook the work and held a sitting in seclusion. In this matter, each one made a resolve and all agreed for better or worse, to the effect that we should acquire a treasure of pearls which we might leave behind in India and then depart.

422-423 My Heart said: 'O man of talents, a world has profited from your compositions. Whatever you composed previously has been forgotten; even the text of your two *diwans*¹ has been lost.'

424-427 When my Poetical Disposition heard this, she said: 'If any gold has been lost, I am the elixir. If a poem has been lost I am alive. Do not worry about pearls when you possess the sea. Go into seclusion, make pleasant arrangements and call a heart-entertaining companion who would attend to you every morning and evening; and all your requirements will be met by him.'

428-429 My Heart and I stopped conversing; night and day, we wandered making a search so that we might find a suitable companion to the liking of our amiable Poetical Disposition.

*Speaking of the beautiful attributes of
Qāzī Bahāū' ddīn hājib-i qissā²*

430-432 Alas! In the course of this year, bereft of generosity, I have not seen even one pure man who might

1. A *diwān* is a collection of poems.

2. *I.e.* Superintendent of petitions. It was his duty to receive petitions from the aggrieved and present them to the king.

sit by the men of genius for a while and solace a lacerated heart saying: 'What progress have you made in this matter? What is your object in this seeking?'

433-434 If a man of talent hides himself for more than a year like a treasure in a secluded corner, no body will enquire about him saying 'How are you? Why are you seated in a corner?'

435-439 In such an age my Poetical Disposition kept me looking for a generous man. I strained my eye of hope in every direction and scrutinized everyone, black and white, wondering whence fortune might come and open to me the door of happiness and from which side the breeze of joy might blow. I was curious to know from which shell the pearl of grace might spring. I wondered who would introduce me to a liberal man and who would inspire me with poetry in the course of the night.

440-444 I continued brooding over this, when, after a month or two, there arrived a courier in good cheer at my door early in the morning. He wished me well, and uttered high-sounding praises. I said to him:

'From where are you coming? You seem to be soul-nourishing and consoling.' He replied, 'I am your awakened fortune. Be happy because hereafter I shall be your companion. Under the firman of the prudent *qāzī* I have come to you, O worthy man!'

445-449 I said, 'Tell me the name of that *qāzī*; relieve me of my worries'

He answered, 'That man of sharp wits is known as Bahā'u'l-Haqq; he is the tongue, the heart, the eyes and ears—every inch alert and wise. His forehead is shining like the moon and his mind is as bright as the sun. His poetry as well as his prose is

delightful. He attends on fakirs always and devotes himself all the time to relieving the distressed.'

450-451 When I heard the *qāzī*'s attributes from that lucky courier, my Heart became restless. At once, I expressed a wish to be able to kiss his foot.

452-454 Then that lucky courier took me direct to his residence. I arrived there full of hope; there was neither a *durbān* at his residence, nor a curtain-beater. I advanced into the interior and met him without formality: it was an amenity, highly befitting the door of a generous man.

455-457 When the liberal good *qāzī* saw me, he advanced a few steps to show me respect. He enchanted me by his cheery looks; I am unable to say how much I was obliged to him. He took me by the hand and welcomed me and assigned me the honour of a seat.

458-461 When we sat facing each other, we talked over the present and the past. Through his conversation my soul revived; my spring-rain obtained the wind of pleasure. When my Poetic Disposition found such an associate of aesthetic sense as she had been looking for, I said to her: 'Now is the time for you to produce all the treasures of skill that you possess. Make your cloud of pearls rain'.

462-463 Most delightfully I cited many verses of my composition before that man of arts. And when I found a good favourable response from him, I narrated to him my story.

464-466 He said: 'Such a sweet-voiced nightingale is fit for the orchard of paradise. It is a pity that such a bird should have continued neglected in this garden and

such a parrot should have remained a captive in Hindustān! There is no tulip-bed befitting such a nightingale except the king's court.'

467-468 Then, he took me to the king's durbar. It looked as if he conducted me from a dark night to the moon. May God compensate him for this service! May the heart of his king be the promoter of good !

Reiteration of taubid including an account of the ancient kings, briefly mentioned in all the books

469-474 God the giver of kingdoms and bestower of crowns—source of light for the star of kings—raises one from the dust to the sky and throws another from the height of glory into an abyss. He furnishes us with a hundred bounties. When we are ungrateful He inflicts a famine. If we revolt turning away from His devotion, He installs a tyrant as king. When we concentrate on devotion to Him, He gives the world around us an age of prosperity, installing such a ruler as might provide the wounded with an antidote and a proper treatment.

475-476 When that Holy God intended to reveal His Godhood, He first brought into existence Adam. But the object of Adam's creation was Muḥammad,¹ king of both the worlds.

477-479 And from Adam came into the world Kayūmars² who established the institution of monarchy.

¹ This is confirmed in the *Murūju'dh-Dhabab* of Mas'ūdī (Paris, 1861) vol. I, p. 55

² According to the *Sbāb Nāmah* of Firdausī Kayūmars was the first monarch in world's history—the 'first of Adam's offspring who ever exercised regal authority'—the first king of the Peshdā-

Then God brought Tahmūraš¹ and subsequently Hoshang, both of whom fought with a dragon. He gave to Jām² the reins of the world, and through him the machinery of the world state attained perfection.

480-501 When He wants to shed the blood of earthly beings He gives the country of Jām to the Zahhakites. When He gives relief to the earthly beings Faridūn³ tortures Zahhāk⁴ to death. He gives the dominion of Irān to Irāj whose blood is shed out of enmity by Tūr and Salam. Then He grants success to Manuchihr,⁵ who

diān dynasty. Cf. Macan, T.—*Shāh Nāmah of Firdausi*, vol. I, p. 11

1 Tahmūraš was the third king of the Peshdādiān dynasty. He is said to have reigned thirty years and is supposed to have founded Babylon, Nineveh and Isfahān. According to Persian mythology he introduced the custom of domesticating animals and birds and enjoyed the title of *Devband* (capturer of demons). *Op. cit.* pp. 16-17

2 Jām stands for Jamshed, a Persian king, who is stated to have reigned seven hundred years and is believed to have introduced weapons of war and military art. *Op. cit.*, p. 18

3 Faridūn is said to have reigned in Irān for five hundred years. While he fought successfully with Zahhāk and killed him he betrayed great weakness for his youngest son Irāj. When Irāj was assassinated at the hands of his cruel brothers Tūr and Salam there began the unending blood feud between Irān and Tūrān which supplied Firdausī with material for his *Shāh Nāmah*. *Op. cit.* pp. 56-66. Also see Vachha, P. B.—*Firdausi and Shāh Nāmah* (Bombay, 1950) p. 140.

4 Zahhāk (*vide* p. 15 *supra*) is denounced as a monster and as an oppressor of Irān. He is also depicted as an antagonist of God and man, from whose hands Faridūn saved Irān. *Op. cit.* pp. 38-46

5 Manūchihr was the son of Irāj and seventh king of the Peshdādiān dynasty of Irān.

tortures Tūr and Salam to death. Then He gives the kingdom to Kaiqubād¹ and later destroys his crown and throne. After that He bestows dominion on Zav² and makes him a new king in the land of Irān. Then after some time He installs Naudhāt³ on the throne. Later He gives the Kāvīānī standard⁴ to Kā'ūs⁵ of the Golden Shoe

¹ Kaiqubād was founder of the Kaiyanian dynasty of Irān and is said to have reigned for one hundred and twenty years. S. N. W. (Calcutta, 1823,) pp. 95, 217.

² Zav (literally sea) was the name of a son of Tahmāsp. *Op. cit.* p. 283.

³ Nāudhāt fought several battles with the Turanian Afrāsiyāb—the mortal enemy of Irān—and was finally defeated and killed. Macan, T.—*Shāh Nāmab* (Persian text) vol, I, pp. 183-99.

⁴ The Kāvīānī standard refers to a blacksmith named Kāvah, two of whose sons were killed by Zāhīhāk. Subsequently the latter, wanted to devour even the third son. When Zāhīhāk's men came to take this third son, Kāvah fixed the leather-cover of his body to a stick and raised cries. On hearing the noise the people who were already prejudiced against Zāhīhāk mustered strong under the banner of Faridūn, a descendant of Jamshed. Then they made an attack upon Zāhīhāk who was defeated and thrown into a prison where he died.

The Kāvīānī standard was looked upon since then as an auspicious national flag. It was beautified and bejewelled by Faridūn whose successors on the throne of Irān increased the beauty of the standard by ornamenting it. During the reign of Yazdījīrd, the last king of the Sasanids, that standard fell into the hands of the Arabs who tore it into pieces.

⁵ While Kaiqubād lay in his death-bed he nominated Kai-kā'ūs, the eldest of his four sons, as his successor. According to the *Shāh Nāmab*. (*Op. cit.* pp. 229-30) Kā'ūs was the same man as Kaikā'ūs. In two verses (3,490 and 10,107) 'Isāmī mentions man; Kaikā'ūs son of Siyāwakhsh was a separate

and afterwards makes the star of Kaikhusrāu¹ shine; and causes Afrāsiyāb to be killed by his sword. Then He takes him into a cave and bestows the Kāvīānī throne on Luhrāsp.² Then He gives to Gushtāsp³ the crown and makes him victorious for some time. From Gushtāsp, then, He passes the kingdom of Irān to Isfandyār⁴ and makes the country stable under him. After that, He grants a long reign to Bahman so that he might conquer the world. Later He gives the country to Humay, daughter of Bahman, the fortress conqueror. Then He gives the world state⁵ to Dārāb⁶ and entrusts him with the crown and throne of kings. From the loins of Dārāb He brings forth a man to whom He gives the dominion of the world and the

1 After a reign of one hundred and fifty years Kaikā'ūs left the throne for his grandson Kaikhusrāu (Cyrus). He united in his veins 'the irreconcilable bloods of Kaiqubād and Afrāsiyāb'.

2 Luhrāsp was the father of Gushtāsp.

3 Gushtāsp also called Gurshāsp enjoyed a reputation like Kaikhusrāu and is remembered for his inordinate ambition. With his death began the decline of the Kaiyanian dynasty and his successors to the throne of Irān proved extremely inefficient.

4 Isfandyār was a son of Gushtāsp. He is noted for his titanic combat with Rustam who blinded him by means of an arrow.

5 Keeping pace with Firdausi's style and incorporating his expressions and thoughts 'Iṣāmī uses the words *jahān* and *ālām* in the sense of a world state.

6 Dārāb was the son of Humay who transferred the crown to him in her lifetime. He ascended the throne in 424 B.C. Then he invaded Greece and captured a daughter of Philip, the Greek king. He kept her for one night and sent back. It is said that she subsequently gave birth to Alexander.

name of Dārā.¹ He causes his murder at the hands of his own army. Two officers roll his head into the dust. Then He adorns the world like a bride under Alexander the Fortunate,² son of Philip. He makes him ruler of black and white and makes his dagger bright like the sun. He brings the world under his rule and infuses a new spirit in the world during his reign. He makes him king over sea and land; before him stand kings with girded loins. At last He rolls his head into the dust and throws his beloved body into a grave.

*Account of the commencement of tyranny
in the country of Irān and the Interregnum*

502-509 When Alexander passed away from this world, the world rolled up the carpet of allegiance. Everywhere man struggled for supremacy; one submitted not to another. Everyone seized a place by means of the sword and made a name by fair means or foul. In every capital there was a crowned king who sat on the throne—Caesar in Rome, and Khāqān in China. Every ruler secured a country.

¹ Dārā, son of Dārāb, ascended the throne in 336 B.C. He was defeated by Alexander in the battle of Arbela in 331 B.C. and fled towards Bactria where he was killed. In 330 B.C. Alexander became king of Irān.

² Alexander was the son of Dārāb and grandson of Philip according to the Iranian legend. He is said to have been king of the West as well as of the East and emperor of Greece and Irān; and his conquests also included parts of western Asia, Egypt, Central Asia and some territories of what is now called Afghanistan and the Panjāb. He lived from B.C. 356 to 323 and is supposed to have been a man of Faith. A. Y. A. Q. p. 760.

Yazdajird¹ and Bahrām Gor,² each, took a principality by force. Hurmuz,³ Parwez⁴ and Shīrūya⁵ also raised a royal standard everywhere. Bahrām Chobīn⁶ and Nūshīrwān⁷ each took the world by force.

510-515 But in the *Shāh Nāmah* hardly do I see

1 Yazdajird was the grandson of Nushīrwān. He was the last king of pre-Islamic Irān ; and, on being defeated by the Arabs, in the battle of Nahāvand he fled towards Turkestan and disappeared.

2 Bahrām Gor was a king of the Sassanian dynasty. During his reign Irān enjoyed great prosperity and presented in the words of Firdausī 'a picture of pleasure and plenty'. S. N. V. p. 100.

3 Hurmuz was the name of a minister of Bahrām Gor. It was also the name of a son of Nushīrwān,

4 Parwez was an Iranian chief mentioned by Firdausī. S. F., W. vol. vi, p. 394.

5 Shīrūya was a son of Bizhan. *Op. cit.* vol. iv, p. 300.

6 Bahrām Chobīn was a warrior in the service of Hurmuz. He was the son of Gushtāsp and the marchlord of Raiy. He was so called on account of his lankiness. *Op. cit.* vol. viii, pp. 70-73.

7 Nūshīrwān (531-579 A.D.) was the twentieth king of the Sassanian dynasty, noted for his justice and prosperity. He sent his talented minister Barzaway on a mission to India, charging him to study Hīndū character and folk-lore and collect some distinctive anecdotes. Barzaway picked up here threads of an ideal story which, taken to Irān, was cast in Pahlavī mould and produced in the form of a book entitled *Kalila Dimna* (Jackal and Fox) with illustrations from the animal kingdom of India. During this period the game of chess namely *shatranj* (Sanskrit चतरंग) was introduced in Irān.

It is said that the empire of Nūshīrwān included the whole of Transoxiana, spreading beyond the Oxus and the Indus in the east and to Egypt, Syria and Arabia in the west. He also held mastery over the Mediterranean regions and was the lord of Greece. Prophet Muḥammad was born during his reign in 570 A.D.

recorded any kings other than those of Irān. In Tūrān a group of the Turks and in Irān a group of the Magi¹ became powerful. The deceitful world unfortunately created hostilities between these two people. Had there been no Oxus between the two, there would have been frequent bloodshed between them. For the sake of acquiring the material world, they shed much blood but finally brought about their own helplessness by this very tyranny.

516-517 From the loins of Faridūn sprang two² sons between whom Fate created a strange enmity.³

Although it is long since they passed away, yet that enmity is alive, even to-day, among their descendants.⁴

Beginning of the prophethood of the last of the Prophets—Muhammad. Peace on him and his descendants and companions! May God be pleased with all of them!

518-520 With the advent of Ahmad, religion became exalted; and he captured the whole world without an army. An army of angels rallied to him, and believers in the unity of God attained success everywhere.

1 I.e. Majūs or fire-worshippers and followers of Zoroaster.

2 Faridūn had three sons—Tūr, Salam and Irāj. He divided his State among these three. S. N. W. vol. i, p. 189.

3 This is a reference to the bitter enmity through the ages between the Iranians and Turanians or Turks.

4 'Isāmī reminds us of the war that is staged in Firdausi's *Shāh Nāmah* between Tūr and Irāj. Tūr who had received as his paternal inheritance Tūrān and China became jealous of Irāj, the latter having received Irān as his share. Subsequently Tūr killed Irāj. Manūchihr, son of Irāj, took revenge; and the war thus kindled continued among their descendants.

521 The Prophet struck coins¹ unerringly in the name of Truth; and he cleaned the world's face of the dirt of infidelity.

522 The world was overspread with his flags of Truth and he took the right path and took it firmly.

523-524 A world of people became his enemies but in no way could they impair his cause. Even when the (Islamic) empires will disappear from the world, his *Shari'at*² will remain.

525-526 After him came Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uṣmān and 'Alī successively.

They did not deviate from the path of justice and equity; all maintained the *Shari'at* of Ahmad.

527-528 Afterwards many troubles broke out in the world and many were rolled in the dust through tyranny. The deceitful world indulged in wickedness, ruining every dynasty.

529-532 Many a king became the target of its arrows and many narrow-minded people fell captive to it. Fury of the Fate does not afflict that person who has freed

1 I e. the Prophet established the Faith firmly

2 For the meaning of *Shari'at* see the *Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 358 footnote. In connection with 'Iṣāmī's remark that 'the *Shari'at* will remain' it should be noted that over seven hundred years ago Khwāja Niẓāmī noticed that considerable alterations had been made in the body of the *Shari'at*. He says addressing the Prophet:

Baski bar-o basta-and bargo-sāz

Gar tu bebinī na shināshish bāz

(O Prophet: your *Shari'at* has been altered to such an extent that if you see it now, you would not recognize it yourself).

(Niẓāmī of Ganja)

himself from the trammels of the world. When many a crowned head was rolled in the dust in this treacherous world, Fate settled the caliphate on the Abbasids according to a saying¹ of the Prophet.

533-534 When caliphate devolved on Hārūn,² the world came back under the rule of law. After Hārūn had passed

¹ There is no authentic *hadīs* of this kind. But to understand the muse it should be noted that Prophet Muhammad is said to have informed his uncle 'Abbās bin 'Abdu'l Muttalib that *khilāfat* would pass at a later stage into his house (*Tabari—Tārikh'l Ummāt w'al-Mulūk*, Cairo, vol. ix, p. 123). Thus unlike the Umayyads the Abbasids were invested with a halo of piety.

² Hārūn al-Rashīd commonly known as Hārūn Rashīd was the fifth and most celebrated of the thirty-seven Abbasid caliphs of Baghhdād. He reigned as well as ruled like an absolute king over a vast empire stretching from East to West for twenty-three years (170/786—193/808). He was the embodiment of all that is best in medieval Arab history. He took great interest in art and science and his brilliant court was a centre for all the branches of scholarship. He ordered that in every mosque must be established a school for the study and cultivation of different sciences; and libraries, furnished with thousands of books, were thrown open to all the scholars irrespective of religion throughout the Islamic world. He sent for the Greek, Jewish, Christian and Hindū scholars and engaged the best of them as translators in court service. Thus were prepared under his patronage Arabic translations of all the great books of the world. He was also anxious to enlighten his soul by acquiring on the one hand the quintessence of human thought and philosophy and on the other hand by acquainting himself with the miseries of human life. He used to go on foot from Baghhdād to Mecca—a distance of about 1,000 miles—to perform the Hajj and also used to go about incognito in the streets of Baghhdād in order to study the condition of the poorest strata of his subjects. He was religious but not fanatic.

Hārūn Rashīd also earned great fame in the domain of legend

away many a man of insight sprang from among his descendants.

A brief account of the Turks¹ seizing the country of Irān and establishing connection with the caliphate,

and tradition. He has become well-known for the *Arabian Nights* (*Alf Lailā*) as the Arabian collection of fairy tales is called. It was built on material borrowed from Irān and India, the Indian material forming particularly the basis of the famous *Kalila Dimna* (Jackal and Fox). According to Mas'ūdi, the Arab historian of third century (tenth century A.D.), the material for the tales of *Alf Lailā* was imported from Irān and India during the reign of al-Manṣūr, second Abbasid caliph, thirty years before the time of Hārūn Rashīd. Particularly noticeable in it are a few stories about the latter. It is said that these stories were added subsequently by Abū Muwās, a court poet of Hārūn Rashīd.

Hārūn Rashīd died on 3rd *Jumāda II*, 193/1, 24th March, 809

¹ Turk (*Toork* of Persian lexicons) is a word of obscure origin and is supposed to mean strength, might and power. According to the Chinese sources it is the name of a nomad tribe who were descendants of the Huns and were akin to and even identical with the Mongols (E. I., IV, p. 900). From Muslim (Arab and Persian) sources it appears that Turk (*Toork*) was the name of Yāfs (Japhat) son of Noah; and he became the ancestor of all the peoples inhabiting the area from the China Sea to the remotest west, e.g. the Turks, Khozars, Slavonions, Russians, Turkomans and Chinese. Fifth in descent from Turk stands Ālanja, who had twin sons, Tartar and Mughul, between whom his dominions were divided. From the latter are descended the Mughul tribes, and from the former the different *Toorki* tribes (T. F.). Thus both Tartars and Mughuls are believed to have descended from the loins of Turk, son of Noah.

The European scholars consider 'Turk' as identical with 'Tartar' which name they consider as generic, embracing three different races—(a) the Manchus in the east of Asia, north of China; (b) the

with a sketch of Sultān Mahmūd bin Subuktigīn. May God illumine their evidence!

Mongols or Mughuls, who occupy chiefly the middle portion north of Tibet; and (c) the Turks whose habitat extended from the desert of Gobi to the Volga and from the Caspian far into Siberia.

The heathen Turk continued long to invade the Muslim dominions of central Asia until 291/904 when their powerful invasion on Samarcand was driven back. Afterwards they embraced Islām, and eighty-eight years later (382/992) when they entered Samarcand and subsequently Bukhāra they did so in the garb of Musalmans. It is said that by 3rd century Hijra (10th century A. D.) the Turkish tribes (200,000 tents) adopted Islām as their religion of their own accord. (E. I., IV, p. 900). And early in 10th century Hijra (16th century) all the regions stretching from the Balkan peninsula and the Black Sea to the Chinese frontier came under the sway of the Turks.

It must be noted that unlike the Arabs—inhabitants of Arabia and descendants of Abraham and Kalītān—these Turks had embraced Islām mainly with the object of satisfying their ambition for worldly power and indulgence in war. From their fold came almost all the Indo-Muslim historians from Minhāj to Khāfi Khān including Iṣāmī. All of them utilized Islām in the domain of historiography by depicting every move of their hero kings in the light of their narrow conception of Islām. Says the *Mahāsinu'l-*

‘The religion of Islām after having been Arab; and after having arabicised the Greek sciences fell into the hands of the Turks, Tartars and Mongols who descended upon Islamic countries for mercenary gain and seized the power. And if they, also on like a coat without understanding its inner spirit as their minds were not prepared for it; they were not fit to receive it. These barbarians tried to benumb the spirit of their subjects by extinguishing the love of science in order to dominate them better. They did so, further, with the object of assuming to themselves alone

535-537 Although the Turks made another¹ raid during the Abbasid rule yet they, one and all, took shelter in Islām after some time. Far from revolting against the Abbasids they received the insignia of royalty from the Abbasid caliphate.

and monopolizing the power to adjudicate all the affairs of the Musalmans. And they exploited the idea of divine pre-destination, utilizing it fully in order to prevent the thought of their subjects from working and their will from asserting itself with determination. They did so, furthermore, in order to spread the idea that the doors of divine favour were henceforth closed to new-comers into the fold of Islām. In short, so much were the thinking faculties of their subjects benumbed by the said barbarians that the latter were content to follow the stereotyped and unchangeable views of their predecessors. It was they, in a word, who falsified the character of the religion which they had embraced and followed in its external rites, but which they had neither understood nor tried to understand in its inner spirit.'

Vagliari, L. V.—*Mahāsinu'l-Islām*, Yafa, 1353 Hijra, p. 73. translated from Italian *Apologia dell'Islamismo*.

¹ This is a reference to the Turko-Arab struggle which is traceable from the second century Hijra (eighth century A. D.). The Turks frequently invaded the Arab empire but were almost always driven back. There was also steady conversion amongst them; and the height of conversion was reached in the eighth century Hijra (fourteenth century A.D.) when the Mongol or Turko-Mongol kingdom of the Golden Horde was completely islamised. Subsequently the Ozbegs (the Turks of Transoxiana) and Noghai (the Turks of the Volga area) who were really descendants of Juji, the eldest son of Chingiz Khān and last of all the Chghatais—descendants of Chingiz Khān's second son who had established a kingdom spreading from Kāshghar to the Chinese frontier—joined the fold of Islām. (Barthold—*Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, pp. 186-187 London, 1928 and E.I. vol. iv, p. 904).

538-539 Through divine guidance and by the help of fortune, the warrior Turks succeeded in crushing their adversaries. Those among them, who rose to kingship, adorned the world by their generosity and munificence.

540-541 One from among the house of Turks attained such a distinction that God bestowed on him the dominion of the material and spiritual worlds. He wore the dervish cap beneath the crown and was clad in coarse cloth, covered with soft silk.

542 Apparently he was devoted to Ayāz, yet in fact he was free from physical love.¹

543-549 Even if any king before him had marched on Hindustān he retreated after raiding this beautiful land and made peace, either in exchange for elephants or for the hand of a beautiful girl.² No one set his heart on settling in this meadow; none captured even a fortress, nor won a siege. No one demolished the idol-house of Somnāth and none made the blood of enemies flow like the Euphrates. None settled in this land and no one cared to reside in this captivating garden. No one uprooted the Hindū power and none demolished the old idol-houses.

550 But his troops overran the country in such a manner that the Hindū power was destroyed completely.

551 So long as the world lasts, will last also the memory of Maḥmūd's glory.

552-558 If you and I, O man of intellect, have a holding in this country and are in a position to replace the

¹ See verses 808-810 and the corresponding footnote, *infra*.

² Here is the acme of poetical flourish. There is not a shred of historical evidence behind 'Isāmī's imagination.

idol-houses by mosques and sometimes forcibly to break the Brahmanic thread and enslave women and children¹—all this is due to the glory of Mahmūd. This is surely the fact of the matter; the rest is empty talk. If we do not pay thanks to him to-day, to-morrow we would suffer on account of our ingratitude. All the deeds that he performed in this country yesterday, have become, one and all, a story to-day. The achievements that you make to-day will also become a story to-morrow.

559 I have many stories in my head; to this tune I have many a song to sing.

560 Should no one give me a hearing, to whom would I then narrate these stories? Tell me. I cannot but narrate them to my own intoxicated Heart.

561-562 As long as there is a sign of life in me, I shall keep company with that person who is my friend and my cup-bearer. Afflicted by longing for a soul-nourishing beloved one, my night has turned black and long like her curls.

563-564 Come, O cup-bearer, to-night you are my companion for you would listen eagerly to my story. I narrate this story and you listen to it eagerly. Keep watch, until the hour of rejoicing arrives.

A brief and summary account of the kings of Hindustān

565-568 O Indian of Arab descent, draw upon the records written in Persian by the Indians. Since you possess information about Indian kings, give first a short account

¹ This is another instance of poetical imagination befitting a *Shāh Nāma*. History takes no cognizance of this kind of bragging and boasting.

of the same in this book. Then say who was the first of the powerful kings to have come to India from Ghaznī, guided by Providence and to the liking of well-wishers.

569-594 In this idolatrous country, who was the first to have introduced Islām?¹ Who wielded the Indian sword in India transforming this land into a garden? In whose name was the *khutba* first read? Who was the first to strike coins, stamping the right royal seal? Who conquered these formidable fortresses? By whose sword did the earth's surface become red? Who crossed the river Indus like a wind and who lit up the flames of war in India? Who carried his raids to Multān (*Mooltān*) and Lāhor (*Labāwar*), raising high the banner of Islām? Who uprooted the idol-house of Gujarat?² Who took Pithora prisoner?³ Who disturbed the Hindū tribes? Who primarily captured Budāūn?⁴ Who was the first to

¹ See commentary

² This is a reference to the famous Somnāth invasion.

³ Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad of Ghor fought two successive battles with Rāe Pithora or Prithviraja, the Chauhān leader who was also the ruler of Dehli and Ajmer, at Tarāin (Thāneswer) in 587/1191 and 588/1192. In the first battle Mu'izzu'ddin was defeated and wounded. But in the second battle he triumphed. Rāe Pithora fled and was taken prisoner and killed. Govinda the Tomara chief, who was a vassal of Prithviraja, was slain in the engagement. T. N. R., I, pp.468-469.

⁴ Budāūn is said to have been invaded by Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī about the year 419/1028. But Hindū rule over Budāūn remained intact; and in 1175 A.D. Raja Ajaypāl built there the temple of Nilkanth Mahadeo. Raja Ajaypāl was succeeded on his death (A.D. 1196) by Dhārampāl who was killed in a battle with Qutbu'ddin Aibak in 594/1197. Qutbuddīn Aibak built there a school which he named *Mu'izzī Madrasa* after his master

become a wise and just king in that city?¹ Who killed Jai Chand in Chandrāwal?² Who brought other chieftains to the rack? During whose reign did the Dehlī of ancient days become a great capital?³ Then who led the troops from Dehlī and shed blood as far as the Red Sea?⁴ Who conquered Mandalgarh⁵ and Ranthambhor?⁶ And afterwards in whose hands came the sceptre? Who brandished the sword like the waves of the Ganges and marched his troops up to Kanauj tumultuously? Who captured Lakhnūtī and Bihār? Whom did Destiny give such great strength? Who captured Mānikpūr and Kaṣā?⁷ Who inflicted complete defeats upon the Hindus? Who overran Oudh (*Awadh*) along with Tirhut? Who raised the standard of victory? Who conquered Jālor and

Mu'izzu'ddin. And he left it under the care of Iltutmish whom he appointed governor of Budāūn.

1 Iltutmish was governor of Budāūn, no king.

2 Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghorī defeated Jai Chand the Rathor raja of Kanauj, in the battle of Chandrāwal in 591/1194. Jai Chand was killed. C. P. K. D, p. 18.

3 That is, during the reign of Iltutmish and subsequently under Balban. See the Sanskrit inscription describing the glory of Dehlī—an eye-witness account. Husain, A. M.—*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 43²

4 The Red Sea (*daryā-i qulzum*) stands for the Ganges and its tributaries; and the verse contains a reference to the conquest of Bengal by Ikhtiyāruddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī.

5, 6 Mandalgarh (identifiable with Māndū in Malwa) and Ranthambhor (near Jaipur) were two strong military fortresses and principalities which were finally annexed to the empire of Dehlī under 'Alā'u'ddin Khaljī. Iltutmish too had captured these. Cf. F. S. I., verses 2308—2315.

7 These verses are tuned to the military glory of 'Alā'u'ddin Khaljī.

Sīwānār¹ Who routed the Hindū clans? Who held the banners of Islām high, imparting light in Chittor, Mandor² and Gwalior (*Kaliūr*)? Who was the first to pitch his camp at Deogīr? Who seized Telingāna by physical force? Who washed his sword in the waters of the sea? Who struck his sun-like sword everywhere? Through whose lustrous sword were the fortress gates thrown open? Who remained a byword of goodness in this country? Who administered real justice in the truest sense of the word?³ Who in this world did not hesitate in giving away everything out of generosity?⁴

595-596 Who remained dead drunk as long as he lived?⁵ Who was alert and remained vigilant throughout his reign?⁶ Whom did Destiny strike with sword through inadvertence?⁷ Whom did it seize unawares in the field of battle?⁸

597 Should sordid times give me an opportunity I would bring out each of these points from the treasury of my memory.

¹ Same as footnote 7 of page 69.

² Mandor was a strong fort and town in Rajputana. Its ruins are still traceable in the area of the erstwhile of Jodhpur State. It was conquered by Iltutmish from Rāe Kirtipala of the (Paramara) Rajput house. Cf. E.T.E.A., p. 168; f. n. 3.

³ Either Iltutmish or 'Alā'u'ddīn Khaljī. But every strong Muslim ruler considered the administration of justice as his first duty. Even Ražiya did so. However, the verses 2318 and 2319 suggest that Iltutmish topped the list.

⁴ Possibly Sultān Nāṣiru'ddīn Maḥmūd, son of Iltutmish.

⁵ Possibly Mu'izzu'ddīn Kaiqubād.

⁶ Ghīyāṣu'ddīn Balban.

⁷ Jalālu'ddīn Khaljī.

⁸ Prince Muḥammad the Martyr.

598 Hearken ! O wise seeker of history, hear for a moment the story of the narrator of history.

599-603 In my head, there is a strange idea which strikes me morning, evening, day and night. It is this. I wish I were able to narrate to intelligent men the stories of kings. But I am so completely overwhelmed by the clouds of sorrows that I cannot even breathe freely. Come, O cup-bearer, pour for me in the jar that foaming wine which might remove the bad effect of drink. Give me that wine which might enable me through raptures to break the sleeping-sickness and to strike a stone at the glass of sorrows.

COMMENTARY

‘Isāmī considers Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī as a missionary of Islām. Perhaps the Sultān had the missionary spirit in him but the times being unfavourable for the kind of missionary work, namely the peaceful spread of Islām, ‘Isāmī’s reference (verse 569) is absolutely incorrect. Islām had come into India much before the time of the Turks who may be credited with establishing Islamic *power* but not *Islām*.

In fact, the Arabs had held India in high regard from the beginning; and it was much before the birth of the Prophet of Islām that they had established contacts and commercial relations with India. Decidedly it was the Arab merchants who gave to her western coast the name of Maṭe or Mālā or Mālābār. This coast had been known heretofore as Kerāla or Kerālam, *i. e.* the country of Kerala, the indigenous name which has been revived now by the

Congress Government. Mālābār comprises two words—*mālā*, a Dravidian term for hill and *bār* based on the Arabic *bār* meaning a country. Later the Arab merchants who came there in search of pepper and spices wrote *Mālā* or *Mālā* or Mālābār differently. Some wrote it as Malibār; some as Mulibār and others Mulaybār.¹

The eastern coast of India which at one time went by the name of Pennunknonda or Cholamadalam was named M'abar by the Arabs.²

Saylān—meaning a star upon a horse's face or spreading from the forehead to the nose—is the Arabic name for Ceylon, so called because of its peculiar shape³.

That Islām came into India through the Arabs and that the Indo-Arab contact began as early as the fall of Adam from paradise is evident from the *tāfsīr* and *hādiṭ* literature. *Jalālu'ddīn Suyūṭī*⁴ says:

'Ibn Juraīr and Hakam have narrated on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the first place on which God made Adam fall was the land of India. And it is narrated by Ibn 'Abbās that the Fall of Adam took place on the land called *Dajna*, namely India.'

'And Hazrat 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib stated that the best fragrance on the face of the earth is that from the land of India wherein was arranged the Fall of Adam. This (Indian) fragrance emanated from a tree of paradise.'

1 Ibn Battūṭa—*The Reḥlā* (G. O. S.) p. 181

2 Husain, A. M.—*Tughrīq Dynasty*, Appendix C

3 Ibn Battūṭa—*The Reḥlā* (G. O. S.), p. 188

4 Suyūṭī, *Jalālu'ddīn—Durru'l-Mansūr*, Cairo, vol. i, p. 55.

‘And Ibn S‘ad and Ibn ‘Asākar narrated on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās that God ordained the Fall of Adam on the soil of India¹.’

And the *Sabbatu'l Marjān Fi Ḵāsār-i Hindustān*² which deals with the *tafsīr* literature tells us that the story of Adam began in Ceylon (*Sarandīb*) and Qābīl killed Hābīl on a local hill. Adam mourned the loss of Hābīl for a hundred years; then he had other children born. Further information regarding Adam falling near Sarandip (*Sarandīb*) and Eve falling near Jaddah is given by *Suyūṭī*.

Baihaqī and Ṭabarī also reiterate the story of the Fall of Adam in India or Ceylon, Ceylon being then a part of India. Ṭabarī says that Adam then travelled to Mecca and finally returned to Ceylon where he began to live; and Ghazzālī repeats the same. Regarding the grave of Adam Ghazzālī gives two reports—according to one he was buried at Mecca in the *Ghār-i Abū Qubais* and according to another at a mountain (*jabal-i Būz*) in Ceylon. Much of this is confirmed by Mas‘ūdī and *Suyūṭī*.

The gist of all these narrations is that Adam, driven from paradise, dropped on the soil of Hindustān and it was in Hindustān that the *wahy*—the divine revelation—came to him. Such being the earliest connection of India with Islām, it would be by no means incorrect to say that Islām came into India in a peaceful manner through the Arabs, and not through the warrior Turk.

Before giving a brief account of the warrior Turk and his sway in Īrān and India (verses 534-596) ‘Isāmī analyses

¹ Ghulam Ali Azad—*Sabbatu'l Marjān Fi Ḵāsār-i Hindustān*, Bombay, 1177, H. pp. 7-43.

² *Idem.*

ten basic factors in the composition of his great epic: *Firstly* his desire to leave behind an offspring on his departure from India. *Secondly* his personified Poetic Genius which he considered his consort, capable of conceiving and begetting issues. *Thirdly* his success in obtaining a patron in king 'Alāuddīn Hasan Bahmanī. *Fourthly* his sufferings at the hands of the emperor Muhammad bin Tughluq. *Fifthly* his chosen role of an epic writer of India like the great Firdausī of Īrān. *Sixthly* his dislike of the time-honoured society and his resolve to quit India. *Seventhly* his emulation of Niẓāmī and Firdausī—the great and famous poets in the domain of *maṣnawī*. *Eighthly* his industry combined with his devotion to Islamic history, literature and hagiology. *Ninthly* his rich imagination and synthetic mind and ability to build historical sequences. *Tenthly* and lastly the appreciation of his work in the high circles of the rebel chiefs, euphemistically called kings.

İṣāmī was born in India and lived in India; and desired—like his ancestors who had lived and married in India and died in India leaving behind children,—to leave behind a progeny. But he was still a bachelor at the age of forty and wanted to retire to a life of celibacy and seclusion at Mecca. One night he made his Heart speak to his own Poetic Genius and the latter promised him a large progeny in the form of verses. İṣāmī approved of this, for such a progeny of verses which his consort was capable of begetting was far better in his eyes than issues from a physical marriage.

In the course of a reverie or nocturnal union with his consort suggestions came to him that he should quit India with a firm resolution to perform a pilgrimage at Mecca and that he should rejoice to prepare for a journey to the

Hijāz which would enable him to discover the path of Truth. These suggestive thoughts coming from within revived his soul and he was spurred to activity. He resolved to lose no time and proceed immediately to pilgrimage. But the spirit of his resolution relaxed before long; and he became half-hearted, his mind being swayed by its love for India—the land of his birth and that of his ancestors. He felt that in case he left India for good he must leave behind a souvenir like his ancestors who were responsible for descendants like himself. Then he decided to follow his ancestors in this respect.

‘Isāmī recalled how different was his own position from that of his forefathers. He was determined to keep himself free from the worries of married life. He might satisfy himself with slave girls whom he could change frequently. But he abhorred the idea of uniting himself with these; rather he would control himself and *drown his passion in the pursuit of history* and the composition of a Book Of Kings—a *Shāh Nāmah*. He believed that his verses in that book would be his best offspring and progeny.

Then ‘Isāmī began to look for a patron. For about two months he remained absorbed in this search. One day early in the morning there came a courier from Qāzī Bahāu’ddīn, the superintendent of petitions at the court of ‘Alāu’ddīn Hasan Bahmanī, king of Daulatābād and Gulbarga. ‘Isāmī went to his house and told his own story. The *qāzī* introduced him to the said king who permitted him to write the proposed *Shāh Nāmah*.

‘Isāmī had suffered all his life at the hands of times and people. Hence his complaint about his age and the lack of true scholarship. He was also disgusted with Indian

society and the conditions of life, then obtaining. He did not like the manners and morals of the people about him. Hence he resolved to quit this country. But what kind of a souvenir must he leave behind before his departure? This was the problem he confronted.

He was a born poet like the great Amīr Khusrau and was his contemporary too. But he did not like his long-winded rhetoric and made no attempt to imitate him. On the contrary he liked Khwāja Nizāmī and Firdausī and attempted to draw inspiration from them. On the lines of their work he began his own; and as soon as his epic, which he had depicted as a *Shāh Nāmah*, drew towards a close he sent it in parts from Daulatābād to the different provinces which had either overthrown the yoke of the emperor or were attempting to do so. When the rebel chiefs who were engaged in the *War On Zālim*¹ read it they liked it immensely; and wishing them victory in their struggle, 'Isāmī named his book *Futūhū's-Salātīn*, that is, Victories of Kings. He says:

'On realizing that monarchs² draw inspiration from this book and that they achieve victories through reading it, I named it *Futūhū's-Salātīn*.'³

1. Husain, A.M.—*Tughluq Dynasty*, p. 298.

2. The term monarchs or kings in the context of the *Futūhū's-Salātīn* and the verses 11628-11629 refers to those rebel chiefs who achieved victories over the *Zālimī* emperor and set up as kings, for instance in Bengal and the Deccan.

3. F. S. I. verse 11,629.

CHAPTER IV

SHĀH NĀMAH LABOURED
MAHMŪD OF GHAZNĪ IDOLIZED

Verses 604—1177

BEGINNING OF THE FUTŪHU'S-SALĀTĪN

From the birth of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī son of Subuktigīn Ghāzī. May Allah illumine their souls!

604 I enter the domain of history. I give life to the dead again.

605 Let me say who was the first¹ to have come into this land victorious like the king of *Rūm*.

606-611 I have been told by men of alert mind in rhythmical and elegant language that in the year² 361 that king of *Ghaznī*—who was undoubtedly and unmistakably the father of Mahmūd and a mighty king of the Turks and a bezel of the ring of sovereignty and was named Subuktigīn—was asleep one night at an auspicious hour on the bejewelled throne.

612-614 He beheld in a dream that in the compound of his palace had sprung a lofty tree under whose shadow flourished a world. It shaded the world, transforming it into a garden and purged the universe of dust.

615-616 That very night one of the king's wives who was pregnant beget a son under whom the world became illumined from end to end.

617 In that night there was a constellation of favourable stars; it was the night of 'Āshūrā,³ I am told.

618-619 At day-break the mighty king sent for the

dream interpreters and related to them his dream of the preceding night unreservedly.

620-629 Out of that lucky group of dream interpreters one man who was the most experienced of all opened his lips in praise of the emperor (*shābinshāh*), saying:

'May you enjoy your dominion for ever! Your Majesty¹ has beheld a very happy dream. The interpretation is that the prince who is born last night will open to the world the gate of prosperity. He will capture the world under lucky stars and will become a remarkable figure in administration. He will bring the seven countries (*haft iqālīm*)² under his control and will revive the garden of Islām. To begin with, he will march upon India, his troops crossing the Indus readily. He will run a Euphrates out of the infidels' blood, and raze to the ground the idol-house of Somnāth. Later he will unsheathe the sword of wrath and capture all the other countries. Your Majesty (*shāhanshāh-i āfāq*)³ may well be congratulated

¹ The Persian phrase *Shāh-i Jabān* (given in the text) literally means king of the world.

² The seven *iqālīms* known to the Muslim world of 6th century Hijra were as follows :

(i) *Iqlīm* of Hind (ii) *Iqlīm* of Ṣin (iii) *Iqlīm* of Toork
(iv) *Iqlīm* of Rūm (v) *Iqlīm* of Afriqia (vi) *Iqlīm* of Arab
(vii) *Iqlīm* of Irān.

Mujmalatu-Tawārīkh, MS. of 520 Hijra, edited by Bahār in 1318 Shamsī.

³ Literally emperor of the world.

for this dream as well as for the birth that took place last night.

630 When the king heard this interpretation, he became exceedingly happy.

631-634 Then he gave that baby the auspicious name *Mahmūd*¹ together with the epithet *Nizām*² and the patronymic *Abu'l Qāsim*.³ He ordered the servants to bring him up carefully and look after him strenuously.

635 By the time *Mahmūd* was twenty-four years old, Providence fitted him in every way.

636-637 Wherever arose a difficulty it was solved by him. His father addressed him as *Saifuddawal*⁴ and sent him to the country of *Khurāsān* to rule as governor.

*Death of Subuktigīn and accession of Mahmūd Shāh
Ghaznavī. May Allāh illumine their tombs!
And his invasion of the country of Hindustān.*

1 Steingass (*Persian-English Dictionary*, p. 1190) says that *Mahmūd* is the name of an elephant mentioned in the Quran. Steingass has had in view the *Sūra Fil* (elephant) one hundred fifth *Sūra* of the Quran which describes the event of 670 A.D, when Abraha the Christian ruler of Yemen invaded Mecca at the head of an army of elephants. One of these is said to have been a white elephant named *Mahmūd*. But this finds no mention in the Quran.

2 *Nizām* (literally good order) signifies a laudable attribute of *Mahmūd* as administrator of an empire.

3 *Qāsim* (literally distributor) is a name of God.

4 The title of *Saifuddawal* (sword of the state) was conferred on *Sulṭān Mahmūd* by *Amīr Nūh Sāmānī* of *Bukhārā* who also conferred the title of *Nāṣiruddin* (helper of Islam) on *Mahmūd*'s father *Subuktigīn*. T. F. I., p. 35.

Dawal is the plural of *dawlat* meaning state.

638-639 When the year¹ 387 had advanced a few months the said king of Ghaznī died and Maḥmūd became emperor at Ghaznī.

640-644 The court staff constructed a hall the height of which passed beyond Pleiades. In that hall was placed a gold throne which Maḥmūd ascended, wearing the crown and a royal robe. The chiefs bowed to him submissively everywhere and all rulers wished him well. The *naqibs* announced the new king in loud voice while the envious in that hall burnt like wild rue.

645-646 With the object of nourishing the world God sent him into the world and Maḥmūd prepared the ground for the nursing of Faith in this world, opening the door of liberality to the people.

647 I am told that in the same year that lion-hearted man led an expedition to India against the infidels.

648-652 Suddenly he swept into India and his success pleased his friends. In one assault he defeated the Hindū contingents and Rai Jaipāl fell prisoner into his hands. He took him to remote Ghaznī and entrusted him to a broker of the slave market. Then under his orders Jaipāl was sold by the market agents for a sum of eighty *dinars*, which was deposited in the treasury.²

¹ A. D. 997

² This is a reference to Maḥmūd's raids on India commencing from 1000 A.D./390 Hijra. After capturing some forts near Lamaghān and Kābul he made an attack on Jaipāl, the ruler of Waihind lying on the west bank of the Indus, fifteen miles north of Attock. Raja Jaipāl whose dominions extended from Lamaghān and Kābul to the river Chinab and from southern Kashmir to Multān was defeated. He was taken prisoner together

653-654 In (the year¹) 377 the emperor went to the territory of Balkh. When that city and its surroundings fell into his hands he stayed in that capital for one or two years.

655 He overran the Herāt land completely and then led the troops to Gujarāt.

*Story of the Indian philosophers' findings and of the Indian messengers' journey to Ghaznī presenting *jizya* to Mahmūd, son of Subuktigīn, prior to his kingship and making a pledge.*

656-657 I heard a story reported correctly by honest and eloquent narrators to the effect that in the course of the ancient history of India the Hindū astronomers jointly made a forecast.

658-663 After seriously deliberating on their forecast, they came to the conclusion that one Mahmūd would arise in Ghaznī, giving to the world the message of justice and generosity. At the age of ten, his light would pass beyond the remotest parts of the world. His horoscope showed that in the succeeding order of kings he would remain unparalleled, that he would lead an army against the garden-like country of India, penetrate into its pleasant

with some of his sons and grandsons. Dr. Nazim (M. G. p. 87) says that the sale of Jaipāl to which 'Unṣurī makes a reference, meant only the fixing of Jaipāl's ransom. Hodivala (S.I.M.H. pp. xiii-xiv and 191-193) is of opinion that 'Jayapala was publicly exposed at one of the slave-auctions in some market in Khurāsān'. 'Iṣāmī impresses on the reader a similar idea. Perhaps Jaipāl was set among ordinary slaves and intimidated into complete surrender in this manner.

avenues and that he would capture the whole of Gujarāt and demolish the idol-house of Somnāth.

664-665 When according to that forecast the astronomers noticed in the given period the identical signs, they went to their own king and told them this story.

666-676 When Jaipāl the ruler heard it, he called his ministers to a private meeting and recapitulated the story. 'O Rai of Hindustān', said the ministers in reply :

'May this garden flourish under you ! An opening is made in a utensil of rough clay, and a colt is not tamed after it has grown to a ripe age. We have heard that that boy of Turkish descent is now ten years old. It behoves the Rai to send him great amount of accumulated wealth and money, asking him thus through messengers to accept the same as *jizya*¹ on condition that on his invading India and capturing the territory of Gujarāt and the idol-house of Somnāth, he would give the Indian idol back to the Hindus; else he should refund our money.'

677 When Jaipāl heard this suggestion of his ministers he accepted it whole-heartedly.

678-688 He sent some messengers together with money and presents to that young and glorious prince whom they saw immediately on their arrival in Ghaznī. They found him playing with boys. They went up to him in good cheer;

¹ The use of *jizya* on this occasion is not justified, the presents or money that the Indian messengers gave to Mahmūd being a kind of bribe or gift offered to procure a certain object.

and placing before him all the presents in great humility, they said :

‘O Virtuous Prince ! We have come from Hindustān to Ghaznī¹, that is, from a garden into a paradise. The king of Hindustān has sent us to your palace with this message—O enlightened prince ! Accept my presents kindly on this condition that when you become king of Ghaznī striking your own coin and when you overrun Gujarāt and seize the idol of Somnāth, you may take all the gold, elephants and pearls that might fall into your hands along with the idol but give us the stone pieces of the idol.’

688-690 When Mahmūd, a prince of sharp intellect, heard this he accepted the presents, saying :

‘I accept the condition so earnestly offered by the Rāi of Hindustān.’

691 This done, the Indian messengers returned to their own country.

692-693 When subsequently Mahmūd succeeded his father as king, he led an army against India and arrived in the region of Gujarāt.

694-696 I have learnt from old histories that he uprooted the ancient idol-houses, seizing from them an immense amount of wealth that astounded the world. The Hindū idol which had been the deity of Hindustān also fell into his hands.

697-702 The aged ripe wearers of the sacred thread then went up to the jizya-accepting king with abundant gold and innumerable pearls. They reminded him of the promise he had made at Ghaznī. Finding it improper to

deviate from his promise the king could think of no reply. He acceded to their request, saying:

'Since we have already made a promise it would not be proper on our part to renounce it. To-morrow at sunrise you will take from me that stone which has not been damaged'.

703 Then they withdrew from the king's presence in profound submission and returned home.

704-709 But the king now felt distressed for he confronted an odd situation. Sharp-witted as he was he thought within himself:

If I give them the idol I become an idol-seller. To-morrow when the dead lift their heads from the pillow of dust I would be publicly exposed for idol-selling. I would be branded like Azar the idol-maker. If I do not give back the idol I would be nicknamed Maḥmūd the pledge-breaker. How should I extricate myself from this difficult situation for there is a ghost behind me and a well before me?

710 After thinking seriously over the matter His Majesty (*Shāh-i jahān*¹) arrived at a conclusion in the manner of wise men.

711-715 The following day when from the sky's skirt the deity² of the Hindus emerged, the king gave the following command:

'Let the Somnāth of the Hindus be burnt and turned quickly into lime. When the said idol-worshipers—wearers of the sacred thread—come here

¹ Literally king of the world.

² That is, the sun.

at durbar time they should be presented with betel-leaf coated with that lime so that our promise be fulfilled and our old pledge honoured.'

716 Then the king held a levee from the gold throne; to his left and right stood Luck and Prosperity.

717-718 The Hindus arrived according to their appointment and performed the *pābos*¹ to His Majesty; everyone sat under his orders by the line of shoes in the royal court.

719 Then came the betel-leaf bearer and acted as the king had ordered him to do.

720-723 After chewing the betel those misguided people stood before His Majesty. They praised him and then said in all humility :

'May it please Your Majesty (*Shāh-i wālā tabār*²) to order that the idol be brought and given back to us—a Hindū minority. You are a king of good repute and right faith. May it please you to fulfil your old promise !'

724-727 When the king heard this he laughed and said :

'You misdirected people ! The idol which you are demanding of me and for which you are raising such a clamour has been already consumed by you along with the betel-leaf. Give up the vain hope now, for henceforth your temple is

1 Literally kissing the foot

2 *Tabār* means root, origin. *Shāh-i wālā tabār* therefore may be translated as 'king of an illustrious house.'

your own stomachs which you should worship instead of the idol.'

728-729 Frustrated, those misguided people withdrew from the royal presence. They went into mourning and some tore up their stomachs through grief.¹

730 Long after that incident a priest (*mo'bid*) played a trick.

Trick played by an Indian priest for the recovery of Manāt

731-732 I am told that at a distance of an arrow's flight that accursed fellow buried a piece of stone. He did not disclose this to any one and concealed the matter from all human beings.

733 He brought a tender calf and began to rear it.

734-735 In that very place where he had buried the stone he deposited a talisman. Then he placed a few *seers* of barley there with which he began to feed the calf.

736-737 It became the calf's habit that every morning, on being let loose from the house, he ran direct to the place where the stone lay hidden.

738-739 In his wake stepped that idol-worshipper with a barley bowl and a stick in hand. He used to feed the calf on barley at the given place and then returned home.

740 Some time after this incident the said Brahman began to laugh, one morning.

741-742 A neighbour enquired why he was laughing particularly at a time when he should have been crying

¹ Some ingenious stories glorifying Mahmūd's victory at Somnāth crept in Muslim literature. This story is an instance of pure fabrication and is devoid of historical truth.

since the whole of Gujārāt had gone into mourning on account of the annihilation of their deity *Manāt*.¹

743-748 On hearing this the Brahman said:

'Sorrow has given place to happiness. The time for mourning in Gujārāt has passed. Last night that idol told me in a dream: worry not and do not be sorry any more. You have a calf in your house; let it loose at day-break. Pursue him wherever he goes with a whole crowd of idol-worshippers, collected together. At whichever place the calf smells the earth, there I lie underneath in seclusion.'

749-750 When the said neighbour heard the above story he said:

'Make haste, O conveyer of good news! Set your heart on doing this very quickly.'

751-762 Afterwards both of those unrighteous-fellows went to their respective elders and narrated this incident before an assembly of the Brahmans. Then the calf was untied; and when it began to run those misguided-people followed it. When the calf, followed by the crowd of idol-worshippers, reached the place where it used to take barley every day, it smelt the earth in search of the barley².

¹ *Manāt* was one of the three famous idols of pagan Arabia. 'Isāmī has identified it with Somnāth of India. Although the antiquity of *Somnāth* (lord of the moon—*som* meaning moon and *nāth* signifying master) is well established (M. G. 210) its identification with the Arabian Somnāth is but fanciful. Also see M. G. Appendix M.

² This story of the calf is another instance of 'Isāmī's ingenuity and has no historical basis.

Seeing this, those misguided people spotted it and dug up the earth for a yard or two; and in the course of digging found a stone. They pulled it out and washed it clean three times with rose water. Then they withdrew from that plain and held a fête everywhere. They made decorations on all sides and musical melodies proceeded from lane to lane. The city was decorated from end to end and the walls and doors were covered with brocade. From every house in Gujarāt rose a noise. In the course of that day *Manāt* became Somnāth.

763-770 I am told when the talented Maḥmūd marched upon Hidustān the idol Somnāth fell into his hands. He burnt a part of it in Gujarāt and took the rump to Ghaznī. There he ordered that deity of infidelity to be broken and that stone to be cut into four pieces. One of these was to be placed at the threshold of the royal court; the second was to be taken by the lucky group of breakers to the threshold of the mosque of Friday prayer; the third piece was to be carried to Medina and placed at the threshold of its shrine, and the fourth piece—dark dust—was to be delivered at the sanctuary of the *Ka'ba*.¹

771-773 About that time, I am told, there came from the house of caliphate a royal robe for the king whose heart was elated at this happy event. Never before had such a recognition been accorded to any king from the house of caliphate.²

¹ It is said that some portions of this idol were sent to Mecca and Baghdād and some were thrown in front of the Jāmi' Masjid at Ghaznī and the palace of the Sultān. (M. G., p. 118.) Also see al-Beiuni, ii, 103.

² Qādir bin Muqtadir the Abbasid caliph sent through a special envoy his felicitations to Maḥmūd and bestowed on him

774-778 When at last His Majesty had obtained recognition from the glorious Abbasids he led his troops against and captured the country of Khurāsān by the strength of fortune. The elephants in his army amounted to two thousand and the lustre of his position blinded the eyes of the enviers. About four thousand of bellicose and sword-brandishing slaves collected under his standard. He built a strong bridge of boats over the Oxus and defeated many an army of Irān and Tūrān.

779 He occupied Khurāsān by the strength of Faith; no one got the better of him in battle.

780 Khurāsān and Khwārizm as well as Hindustān revived like a garden through his justice.

781 That lion-hearted man captured the whole world¹. At last, he departed from this world.

Desire of Prophet Muḥammad Mustafā—peace and blessing of Allah on him—to see the features of Maḥmūd son of Subuktigīn and his seeing him.

the title of *Kabfu'ḍdaulāb wa'l-Islām* (refuge of the State and Islām). T. F. (Bombay), vol. I, p. 60

¹ Maḥmūd's empire was the greatest the world had seen since the collapse of the Roman empire; and it was larger than the empire of the Abbasid caliphs. It stretched from the cis-Sutlej region—Bhatinda, Thanesar, Sīrsā and Hānsī—to the Caspian region and from Lamaghān, Balkh and Mary to Kurdistān. It included Khurāsān, Hamadān, Ispahān, Kuhistān, Zābulistān and the Helmund valley and desert as well as all the territories now included in Afghānistān. He had mint centres spread over all this area; and his coins struck at Ghazni, Nishāpūr, Herāt, Jurjān, Balkh and Lāhor (Maḥmūdpūr) are still seen.

782-783 I am told that when the last of the prophets had by the strength and grace of God overthrown the idols of 'Uzzā and Lāt, no idol remained in the world but Manāt.

784-787 One night the Prophet prayed earnestly and in secret to the universal Creator and said:

'By the power of Faith I have removed all the idols from the face of the earth. No idol has remained in the world except Manāt which has become the deity of the territory of Gujarat. My heart is worrying as to how I should demolish it since this one deity of the fire-worshippers has survived.'

788-792 The moment this thought flashed across the mind of Ahmad down came the divine message. Swiftly arrived Gabriel, the messenger of the Soul Creator's court. After presenting salām and blessing of God to Muṣṭafā he communicated this divine ordainment, saying:

'After you a king will arise from among your own eminent followers, bearing the name Maḥmūd who will surely break the house of Somnāth.'

793-795 The honest Gabriel conveyed this divine message to Ahmad of pure faith. Then Ahmad prayed earnestly to God, saying:

'O Lord (Yā Rab), show me the face of that lion-like man this very day by Thy omnipotence and strengthen my soul with the light of his face.'

796 That very moment Maḥmūd was shown to the Prince of prophets, I am told.

802 In this pursuit a rich man and a pauper are equal and whosoever becomes captive in this net experiences trouble.

803 In the dominion of love kings wear coarse cloth and in the pleasure party of love the *ṣufī* sips the dregs of the wine cup.

804 Through pursuit of love, angels fall into a well of troubles and human beings fall into calamities.

805 A person who keeps out of the way of love is not a human being; and an angel who keeps out of this well is not an angel.

806 A person who does not stake his (or her) head in this pursuit is outside the caravan of mankind.

807 In this caravan, look! every morning and evening a master, trudging like a she-camel, carries the burden of a slave.

808-809 I have heard from the narrators of secret stories that when Maḥmūd fell in love¹ with Ayāz, his kingship was transformed into slavery; his steadiness was replaced by distraction.

810 Another man became king of his dominion; a slave became the ruler of a king.

811-812 Since the king was a vigilant man he acquitted himself warily in that matter. Outwardly he was a strong king; inwardly he was a slave to Ayāz.

¹ In fact, Sultān Maḥmūd was in love with the sister of his Turki slave Abū Najm Ayāz bin Umāq and he ultimately married her. On account of this relation there was genuine affection in the Sultān's mind for Ayāz too. But there was no illicit love and could not be any between the two. See 'Awfi—Jāmi' u'l-Hikāyāt, 1943, p. 250. Also see M. G. p. 153.

813-815 To all appearance he was busy, night and day, with the State affairs and the State matters acquired glory through him; at heart, he was ceaselessly intimate and always a companion of Ayāz. In secret, he had no work except the pursuit of love; other than this, he had no engagement.

816 After some time had passed in this manner the king's attitude revealed his love.

817-818 Bringing about separation between any two friends is the convention of jealous times. Jealous people arose on all sides intent on bringing about separation. Love is such an essential feature of life that in this matter reproach is applicable even to the angels.

819 However, some of the enviers contended that Maḥmūd's love was something beyond the category of physical love while others protested saying: 'Ayāz has cooked a magic.'

820-823 One day a group of those cruel enviers—rebukers of the virtuous—went to the king and said, 'O king, refuge of the world; undoubtedly you belong to the class of saints: yours is the dominion of holiness. Should Your Majesty promise us protection, we would place before you a puzzle'.

824 On hearing this His Majesty said, 'Out with your puzzle immediately, please.' They said:

825-830 'Your Majesty—the pride of wise men—you administer justice to others; yet personally you misbehave.

How is this? Tell us the truth. Why do you bestow all your favours on Ayāz to the exclusion of all those who are very close to you? As fo.

particular—men of standing and liberal instincts—Your Majesty has not in your heart of hearts even one-tenth of the love that you have for Ayāz. Since this point has been distressing us we are compelled to speak out our minds.'

831-834 On hearing this awkward question from them, the king was highly distressed and said to himself: 'It is better to keep the story of Ayāz a secret and to reply to their awkward question by means of an allusion.' Then he said to them, 'I shall give you the reply to-morrow'.

835-837 Next day, at sunrise His Majesty mounted a cavalcade and proceeded from the capital gloriously like the sun. He went hunting to a distance of a few parasangs,¹ shooting down the game wherever found.

838-845 I am told that he stood for a while in a valley watching the approach of a caravan. Then he ordered his young son Ibrāhīm to proceed on horseback towards the caravan and enquire, 'Whence are they coming?' Ibrāhīm proceeded; and on enquiring of a member of the caravan (*kārwāñi*) was told that the caravan was coming from the country of Ethopia. Then Ibrāhīm returned with great speed and communicated the same information to the king.

846-847 His Majesty (*shāh-i nāmju*) sent him again saying, 'Go and make another enquiry of the caravan whether they are going in such large numbers'.

848-850 Resolved again, I am told, to carry out the order of the righteous king Ibrāhīm enquired a second time of a *kārwāñi* their destination, saying: 'To which part of this chosen country is the caravan intending to travel.'

¹ One parasang (*farsang*) is a distance of twelve thousand cubits.

851 That *kārwānī* said in reply to the prince, 'We intend to go to Herat.'

852 Again, the prince ran to the king and communicated whatever he had heard from the *kārwānī*.

853 His Majesty ordered the prince a third time to go and enquire, what merchandise was being carried by the caravan.

854-855 A third time the prince went accordingly, came back quickly after making the enquiry and reported the matter to His Majesty (*Shāh-i jabān*).

856-864 For the fourth time he desired that virtuous Ayāz should go. The intent of the royal look, for His Majesty had merely looked towards him, was understood by Ayāz; and considering it as a royal order, he set out towards the caravan. He made enquiries from the caravan owner; and after obtaining all the information, favourable or unfavourable—their numbers, their merchandise, their profit and loss—he reported the same forthwith to His Majesty reproducing all the details from beginning to end. Thereupon His Majesty turning to those inexperienced people who had put the awkward question said:

'From enquiry made about the particulars of the caravan it has now become clear what the princes are worth. Certainly according to the men of judgment the noble Ayāz deserves favours.'

865 I am told that in this manner the king silenced those unrighteous people.

The prayer of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī (may Allah illuminate his evidence)—made while returning from Hindustān to Ghaznī—is heard.

866-870 When Maḥmūd the conqueror of countries, I am told, started from Hindustān for Ghaznī, a misguided fellow hailing from the frontier of Hindustān appeared before him in the suburbs of Sind and said, 'I am an expert guide and in my own line I possess a magician-like skill. Should Your Majesty order me I would put on my head the guide's cap. I shall then take the troops to Ghaznī through a short cut, doing two months' journey in the course of one month'.

871-873 As soon as the king heard this from that traitor Hindū who was destined to mislead him, he ordered him to act as guide to the royal contingents.

874-879 In short, after the army had proceeded a few stages they fell into a wild desert¹ which was dreadful in appearance and fatal to mankind and bristling with

¹ Sultān Maḥmūd's victory at Somnāth having created great restlessness and resentment among the neighbouring Hindū chiefs one Param Deva, raja of Annhilwara Patan, intended to block the Sultān's journey from Somnāth, bottling him up between the Aravalli hills and the Rann of Cutch. But the shrewd Sultān precluded such a treacherous move on the part of the enemy by changing his route and by following instead an obscure and lengthy path through Cutch and Sind. On arriving at an arm of the sea between Kathiawar and Cutch he crossed it over to the other side, taking his army too, across the vast sheet of water with great skill. Then he threatened Param Deva in his own domain of Annhilwara Patan. But Param Deva disappeared from sight, taking shelter in his fortress of Kanthkot, south of Patan. Sultān Maḥmūd captured this fortress also, but Param Deva made good his escape. Then the Sultān marched northward to Annhilwara Patan. According to Firishta he liked it so much that he desired to make it his provisional capital, entrusting Ghaznī to his son Maṣūd (T. F. I, p. 57). But his amirs dissuaded him from adopting this course. So, placing Gujarat under the rule of a local Brahman

thorns, no verdure ever having grown in it. It was an open expanse with caves after caves and plains and hilly tracts from end to end. It was a mirage which no one had penetrated. Neither had this desert ever been frequented by a human being nor was there in it any living being barring demons and fierce dragons; nor had its surface been made wet by water since Noah's deluge.

880-885 Through lack of paths the troops became desperate giving up every hope of recovery. Then that deceitful guide appeared before His Majesty (*shāb-i nāmwar*¹) and said:

'From this place water is near at hand; order the army to speed.'

In this manner and by means of such a lie that desert-wandering demon made the royal army wander about through another day and night. The following day they arrived at a place wherein, on all sides, they saw nothing but Karbala.² Neither water was visible

Dabashlim the Sultān made a circuitous journey through the Thār desert *en route* Multān. But while moving through the Thār desert and the waterless and sandy regions of Rājputāna he was duped by a local Brahman—a devotee of Somnāth—who misguided him and threw him into an inconceivable distress. The Sultān prayed earnestly to Allah to show him the right path which came into sight subsequently, and pursuing which he travelled to Ghazni. See also M. G. p. 119

¹ Literally 'a renowned king'

² Name of a place in 'Itāq which became in 680/61 the scene of a great tragedy commonly known as Tragedy of Karbala. This took place fifty years after the death of Prophet Muḥammad when his grandson Imām Ḥusain was driven by the new Umayyad government of Yazid from Medina and Mecca and forced to encamp in the waterless plain of Karbala. With a small following

there nor any road; and the whole army was mortified through¹ thirst.

886-888 Then the king summoned that misguided demon, I am told; and enquired of him, saying:

'What was your actual intention by thus treacherously throwing us into a wrong track? Was this a contrivance of yours to destroy us?'

889-895 On hearing this from the king that Hindū said:

'O talented king! Verily I came from Gujarāt to take vengeance of Manāt and to despatch Your Majesty to the next world. Many a time I tried in the course of this journey to strike a sword on your head in inadvertence. When I found that I was unable to get the upper hand of you through violence I planned this trick to destroy your army. With the intention of burying them alive under thirst I brought them into this waterless desert. Now that I have succeeded in achieving my object, it is up to you to kill me or spare me as you please'.

896-897 On hearing this from that satanic and

of seventy-two men including his six-month-old son 'Ali Aşghar, Husain was besieged by an army of 30,000 armed horsemen under the orders of Yazīd, son of Mu'awia. Yazīd claimed to be the caliph and successor of Prophet Muḥammad and demanded allegiance of Imām Husain. But Imām Husain refused to bow to him for he was a vicious despot, living an un-Islamic life. All water supply was stopped for Imām Husain and his camp from 7th *Muharram*; and on the 10th (10th October 680 A.D.) all the followers of Imām Husain and he himself were slaughtered and killed one by one after a fight lasting a few hours.

¹ This story is found with minor differences in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (T.N.B.I. p. 10). Firishta too mentions it. T.F. vol. i, p. 59

mischievous guide the king ordered him to be killed and his body to be thrown on a bush of thorns.

898-900 Then addressing the veteran warriors and men of experience His Majesty said:

'To-day let us encamp here at this very place and all of us should jointly implore God; perhaps a way to water might appear and the army which is suffering through want of it might be saved'.

901-903 Accordingly the army halted there that day. And when that unpleasant day closed, the desert was transformed into a vast expanse of darkness. The outlook became dark like the feathers of a crow and it seemed that the whole world was plunged into pitch darkness.

904-907 In the dead of night the king then stood up and prayed earnestly to God to guide him to a path as well as to water. So much did he implore the Almighty God that from the direction of the *Ka'ba* there appeared a light in pitch darkness. Seeing that light the king was amazed and he considered it a sign of divine favour.

908-910 He immediately summoned the army chiefs and led the army in the direction of that light. After they had marched two miles, a river came into sight. They dashed forthwith and all drank water to their fill.

911-913 The thirst-afflicted army having quenched their thirst proceeded further, and after marching one or two miles found a road. That road His Majesty pursued until he arrived in Ghaznī.

914 Verily whoever fixes his heart on God finds the right path in both the worlds.

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914 Verily whoever fixes his heart on God finds the right path in both the worlds.

Anecdote illustrating the virtues and laudable qualities of Mahmūd

915-919 One night Mahmūd the chaste was lying on a bejewelled throne, I am told. In the course of that night he had no sleep at all and his heart was distracted. He said to himself: As far as I remember, never before was my heart so distracted. Perhaps a human heart has been afflicted by me; perhaps a virtuous soul has been tortured by me. That is why I am having no sleep; two-thirds of the night has passed. The whole world is dark in my eyes.

920-922 After pondering deeply, he ordered that a search be made at the gate of the palace and said, 'Perhaps some one—man or woman—is lurking about my palace in order to seek redress. Bring him or her along so that I might redress the grievance according to the best of my judgment'.

923-925 According to the order the king's attendants rushed but they found no one about the royal palace. Again the king sent them with specific instructions to make a search about the palace a second time hoping that they might thus light upon an afflicted person.

926-930 I am told that the royal attendants who were the king's confidants searched around the palace but they found no one high or low. However in a mosque hard by they saw an old woman in prostration. With her forehead touching the ground and tears in her eyes she was crying, 'O lord! Give me justice against Mahmūd; torment his soul with a fraction of my grief'.

931-934 When the royal courtiers saw the old woman they said to her, 'The king calls you'. With a hundred tricks they took her to His Majesty, who at the moment

his eyes fell on her was holding in his hands a tumbler of water. He immediately attended to her problem saying:

'Speak old woman, at whose hands have you suffered and against whom are you raising this cry and clamour?'

935-941 The old woman said, 'O king, it is you against whom I am raising the cry. I had two sons, each a youth and the pride of veterans. I have been told that both of them have fallen prisoner in the hands of the fire-worshippers at Kābul. Both of them are lost to me during the reign of a justice-dispensing king like you. Should you, O talented king, make no endeavour to-day to secure release of my captive sons, to-morrow I would seize your skirt and shed around you a river of tears for, I fear, both of my sons might die in the prison of Kābul during your reign'.

942-945 On hearing this the king said to himself: A hundred pities on my kingdom! Ah! during my reign such a widow whose life is but a tale of sorrow should perish through extreme distress and crying; the burning of her heart might bring an incendiary to the land. If to-morrow she seizes my skirt how shall I be able to acquit myself and gratify this woman.

946-950 Saying this to himself—so it has reached me from wise men—the king who was holding in his hands a tumblerful of cold water intending to drink the same, let it go from his hands, drinking not even a drop. And while laying it down from his hands, he made a resolve saying: Let cold water be forbidden to me until I redress the grievance of this old woman.

951 'Let the old woman go to her dwelling' was the royal order then issued.

952-953 At sunrise, I am told, the king beat the drum and mobilized his army. Resolved to redress the grievance of that old woman, he set out like wind from Ghaznī for Kābul.

954-956 I am told that he marched; and after a period of six months he discovered a way to capturing the fortress of Kābul. When that fortress was captured he put the Magi to the sword and shed their blood relentlessly. This done, he said, 'Bring me all the prisoners.'

957-958 Accordingly many of those unfortunate persons from Ghaznī and Ghor¹—whom the fire-worshippers of Kābul had carried forcibly as prisoners—were led in chains to the king.

959-963 From each and every individual the king heard his story. And, when the turn of the widow's sons came, he recognized them by their statement and showed kindnesses and favours to them, ordering that robes of honour with caps of dignity be given to them. In regard to the other prisoners, he ordered that their fetters be cut; and subsequently for the sake of those two youths he granted gold with garments to everyone and freed them all.

964-972 The following day, the king marched the army early in the morning from Kābul to Ghaznī. On his arrival at Ghaznī the whole city wore a gay and beautiful look. And he was pleased to drive in cavalcade to the house of the old woman. There he called her and gave her her two sons; and stretching his hands to her foot he said, 'O kind mother, now that you are comforted by the

¹ Ghor was an obscure principality lying in the mountains, is south-east of Herāt.

sight of both the youths, give me with your own hands a cup of cold water¹ for thirst has diluted my blood. For the past six months I have only been taking hot water which has affected my liver. God has enabled me to save my face before you and I am freed from worries.'

973-975 When the old woman saw the face of the youths, she embraced them most affectionately, invoked blessings on the king and clasped both of them—her young sons—to her bosom. Then, praising the king and showing him respect, she gave him a tumblerful of cold water.

976 After the king had taken water from the hands of the old woman, he rode along with his courtiers to his palace.

977-979 Afterwards the righteous king posted at the gate of his palace an informer charging him to stand there and not to move under any circumstance. Should a complainant arrive, then he must immediately convey the news to the royal ears.

980-981 Since that day, it became the practice for the kings in every country to have an informer posted at their respective gates. Such a practice did not prevail before; it is a legacy of that righteous king.²

¹ Cf. T. F. vol. i, p. 62

² More than three hundred years before the birth of Maḥmūd it is said that a contrivance was made by Noshirwān of Irān to keep himself informed about all the incidents that took place near the palace and the country. He feared that an informer at the palace, if appointed, might not give free access to every aggrieved person. He might even harass the latter for reasons best known to him or might demand a tip. So, Noshirwān put up at the gate of his palace a chain which, at the slightest jerk, rang inside the palace; and immediately on hearing it Noshirwān rushed to redress the grievance and administered justice.

982-984 To-day, more than three hundred years having passed since, there is neither that king nor that woman; only that story has remained in history to immortalize that king. If you, too, perform such a noble deed to-day, you will like Mahmūd bear the emblem of success to-morrow.

Three things wished by Sultān Mahmūd—May God bless his tomb—and his obtaining all those three things.

985-990 I have heard from the old history tellers that Mahmūd, the renowned king, often prayed to the Almighty God to make clear to him three things: first he—king of holy faith—should know whether he is definitely the son of Subuktigīn; secondly whether he—pride of all the kings—on leaving this world, would be raised to paradise or thrown into hell; and thirdly whether he would behold the Prophet in a dream. For a decade he kept worrying night and day so that these three things should become clear to him.

991-994 After the lapse of twelve years, it so happened, that one evening the bearer brought a candle in a golden stand into the royal chamber at a late hour, while the king was sitting. He enquired of the bearer saying, 'Why have you come at so late an hour, bearer?

995-1000 The bearer bowed and said, 'Your Majesty', I was walking towards the palace with this burning candle in my hands. When I arrived near the royal chamber, a jurist said to me, 'O candle-bearer of the generous king', I adjure you by the Almighty Lord of the Great Throne, place this candle with the golden stand for a while before me for I must needs look into to-day's lesson. As soon as the difficulty about my lesson is removed, you take the candle to His Majesty'.

1001-1003 Since that esteemed man of learning had adjured me by the name of God I did not disregard his request. I said, 'Come along; whatever you want to see, see'. For this reason, O generous king, I was delayed in bringing the candle'.

1004-1008 On hearing this His Majesty said, 'Take the candle to that learned man of religion and tell him, 'O man of enlightened mind, the king has granted you this candle together with the golden stand. Take the candle and dispose of the stand as you like, since it is now a royal gift made to you.' To you also, O candle-bearer, I hereby grant freedom, since you have enabled me to perform this God-pleasing service.'

1009-1014 When His Majesty had made such a gift in the name of God, he beheld the holy Prophet in a dream the following night. The Prophet Muṣṭafā said to him, 'O regnant king, undoubtedly you are the son of Subuktigīn. You deserve paradise as well as a kingdom at one and the same time. You have given such support to my *Sharia't* that you have earned for yourself both the worlds. Have no apprehensions henceforth. God is your helper. Destiny and faith are supporters of your cause.'¹

1015-1016 Verily, whoever lights the candle of generosity will be enlightened with the mysteries of Destiny. God will grant him acquaintance with Himself and through Him will illuminate the ages.

¹ 'Iṣāmī's picturesque language may be consistent with the traditional Muslim praises for Sultān Mahmūd, but history knows nothing about the cause so dear to 'Iṣāmī, namely Prophet Muḥammad's appreciation of Sultān Mahmūd. The whole story as it stands is chimerical in the eyes of a modern historian.

Sultān Maḥmūd arrives thirsty in a garden and takes pomegranate juice from the hands of an old woman.

1017-1025 One day, I am told, the king rode on a horse into a desert intending to hunt. In the course of his hunt ranging over a few parasangs, he stripped mountain and desert of the wild animals. Then a deer sprang before him; and immediately on seeing it he left his troops and guards. In its pursuit he galloped his horse with lion-like boldness. He galloped long; then made a dash and at last secured that game in this manner. On drawing close to the deer he pulled an arrow from his quiver and shot it in the buttocks so effectively that it pierced the deer's head through and then affixed itself into the ground. Thereupon he dismounted from the horse and slaughtered the game citing the name of God. This done, he withdrew and rode back to his own camp.

1026-1029 But he rode so quickly that he lost his way, and both he and his horse were completely exhausted through hard galloping. Thereupon he turned towards the city, still driving the horse briskly. He was so thirsty that the royal blood was diluted in that hunting field.

1030-1034 At last, he arrived in a garden at whose gate he saw an old woman sitting. He said to her, 'O kind mother, pour one drop of water down my throat. Save me quickly, O reverened mother, for my blood is boiling through thirst. The woman replied, 'Your Majesty, wait a while for I am bringing you a pleasant sherbet of pomegranate juice and shall save you from this burning heat.'

1035-1038 Saying this, she ran into the garden and brought a pomegranate. Then crushing it into a bowl

which became full to the brim with the juice, she invoked blessings and delivered the same into the king's hands. The thirsty king quaffed it in one draught, and returned the bowl saying, 'Bring one more soon'.

1039-1043 The old woman took the bowl from the king's hands and went into the garden quickly. As she withdrew from the royal presence the king said to himself, I wish I had a garden of this type of pomegranates yielding such honey-like juice as this. In a nutshell she again brought a pomegranate which she crushed into a cup; but half the cup remained empty.

1044-1045 Seeing this the king felt amazed; still he took the juice for it was pure. Again he said, 'Bring me this delicious juice once more.'

1046-1049 This time again only half the cup was filled. The king, though amazed, quaffed it. Then he said to the old woman, keeper of that garden, 'With the juice of the succeeding two fresh pomegranates the cup did not fill as it had been filled by the first one. What is the reason? Tell me, O brave woman, the fact of the matter.'

1050-1051 'Your Majesty', replied the old woman, 'certainly the governor of this area has become covetous of the peasants' garden. For this reason the pomegranate juice has diminished'.

1052-1053 When the king heard this, he felt ashamed and said: 'O simple-minded woman, bring another pomegranate from the garden. Crush it and give the juice into my hands'.

1054-1059 As she withdrew into the garden the king moaned before the Almighty God; and placing his head on the earth with a hundred apologies, he said in

utter helplessness, 'O Knower of secrets and hidden things, O accepter of apologies from the needy, whereas I am penitent accept my apology; withhold not Thy generosity from (my) subjects on account of my sin. As long as my soul is attached to my body and as long as my heart is associated with intellect, I shall never again cast a covetous eye on the assets of the peasants in this country'.

1060-1062 Now the king being a penitent, the old woman brought a fresh pomegranate from the garden and crushed it into the cup which became full to the brim as had been the case in the first instance. Then she gave it to the king who drank it with a hundred thanks.

1063-1065 Afterwards, I am told, His Majesty rode speedily into the city; never again did he ever covet the assets of the peasants. By virtue of his justice his dominions looked like a garden, hilly tracts and plains being transformed into villages and cities.

1066-1068 Associates of the convivial party picked up cheerfully to his memory the cup of revival every morning. Come, O cup-bearer, and in his memory give me also immediately a life-strengthening sherbet. Revive me under my agonizing thirst in the same way as Mahmūd was revived under the effect of the fresh pomegranate juice.

Anecdote of a sparrow's nest and the threshold of Mahmūd, king of Ghaznī. May Allab illuminate his tomb!

1069-1071 An old village headman narrated to me that that enlightened king had once led the troops to capture a fortress and continued besieging it for a period of six months. When in the course of the sixth month it was captured, he trumpeted his retreat.

1072-1073 When the royal sweeper set about

dismantling the camp, he noticed that a little sparrow had built its nest in the king's tent.

1074-1075 In that nest he saw a few eggs and stopped his work. He came down quickly from the top of the tent and reported the matter to the king.

1076-1078 When the king came to know of it he stayed on and remained there until the raw eggs became ripe and were hatched and the young ones had winged and flown away. Then the king prepared to start from that place.

1079 He led the troops and arrived in the frontier-outpost of Ghaznī and the height of his banners reached the stars.

1080 Such behaviour on the part of that king of enlightened mind was graceful. He was indeed a helper of the weak and the feeble.

Mahmūd, king of Ghaznī—may God illuminate his eminence—disqualified from saying prayers at the principal mosque and a torrent of water streams forth before him.

1081-1089 I am told that the talented Mahmūd who was one of the select men of God was preparing, one Friday, to say prayers in the principal mosque. In that state his ablution became invalid and he became dejected. He said to himself:

For the sake of performing an ablution, if I withdraw from amidst this congregation of devotees, I shall have to go quickly out of the mosque; in that case I would be put out of countenance and dismayed. People would say that Mahmūd was swayed by a demon for he became polluted in the mosque while

attending the Friday prayer, He has deviated from the custom of wise men. If I make an ablution here in the mosque men of wisdom will turn their faces against me. Should I join the prayer without making an ablution, the Almighty creator would see me.

1090-1093 While His Majesty was thus perplexed, there streamed forth before him through the omnipotence of the Creator — the cherisher of the universe — a torrent of water in which he made ablutions. Then he performed prayer in congregation and afterwards came back home, reiterating innumerable thanks to God who enabled him in that critical moment to save his face.

1094 This story that God honoured him with a stream of generosity became public.

1095 I have heard from globe-trotters that the said torrent¹ still flows in that mosque².

1 Even if the 'globe-trotters' gave correct information to 'İşāmī regarding the continuance of the torrent, no such thing exists now,

2 There is no trace of this mosque now. But 'Utbī who was a contemporary writer tells us that it was an extremely spacious mosque of huge size and pillars. The Sultān had spent so much wealth on it that its walls shone giving the impression that they were made of gold and precious metals. By virtue of its variegated colours this mosque looked brighter than the colours of rainbow. The marble used for flooring it shone, giving dazzling light. And materials used for building it were brought from different countries.

Attached to this mosque was a big school in which were taught different branches of learning by distinguished teachers. It possessed big rooms with lofty roofs in which were heaped valuable books about all the sciences, past and present. These books were studied by distinguished writers and professors.

Inside the mosque the Sultān had constructed a cubic chamber which was intended for his own use. It was decorated with gold,

Five instances of Hasan Maimandī's wrong counsel which brought shame to Sultān Mahmūd Ghāzī—may God enlighten his evidence—and the Sultān's complaint about this

1096-1144 One day towards the close of his reign

Mahmūd, the righteous, summoned the talented Hasan Maimandī, his minister, and said to him:

'During my reign you have been the nerve-centre of administration, O Hasan. As long as the global sky exists, no minister of sound judgment like you will arise. You have always given me good advice. Through your advice I captured north and south; and through good fortune and strength of wisdom you faltered not, but five times. Firstly, you faltered when the king of Kābul¹ having fallen prisoner into my hands, you advised that he should be sent to the market and sold. From such a poor advice, O adviser, came contempt of my forefathers and ancestors. Secondly when the king of Ghor had cast out of his head the

marble and enamelled work and was embellished with a *mīhrāb* made of shining gold. In front of this chamber was constructed a hall in which prayers were performed in rows by his slaves, numbering about 3,000.

Leading into this chamber was a private passage connecting it with the Sultān's palace. It was intended for the Sultān's use so that he could peep in and go out without anyone noticing his movements.

¹ Utbi—*Tārikh-i Yamīnī*, pp. 409-414, edited in original Arabic; Delhi College, 1847.

Basing his account on the above narrative of Utbi, Firishta says that the *jāmi' masjid* of Ghaznī was called '*Urūs-i Falak* (literally bride of the sky) which is the recognized title of the sun. T. F. vol. i, p. 51.

¹ Cf. footnote 2, p. 82 *supra*.

idea of war and had come submissively to my court, you made me sit on the golden throne. Then standing up like a bride-dresser, you adorned me with the crown and royal robe. You called in the king of Ghor who, clad in simple clothes, came to that court in a manly fashion. You installed him on a kingly chair. When after kissing my feet, he sat on a chair I felt so piqued that I thought I was like a bride on the throne while that lucky king was sitting on a chair confronting me. Thirdly, when an old woman presented me a piece of cloth bearing a complete picture of my royal insignia, you said to me, "O triumphant king, order that the cloth be taken to a broker and tenfold of the price fixed by him, be paid to her." At last, when the old woman came to know the ugliness of the contents of my order she was disappointed. Then she said mockingly, "This cloth I presented with the object of and according to the custom of performing a *nisār*. Now, it would have been better if it were returned to me; it was not to be assessed for sale." She said this and took away the cloth from me. I heard that she gave it to the tailors who made out of it ladies' socks immediately. Wearing those socks embroidered from end to end with my insignia, she walked the market the whole day. Since then, she has never turned up at my palace. Thus my insignia was highly insulted. Fourthly, on a certain day, O man of experience, when I was returning from hunting in the field and night had suddenly set in, wrapping the world in darkness I and you reached a garden wherein lived a dervish. I said to you that we might stop here for the night and put up in the hut of the dervish. You said that it would not become a king to lodge in a beggar's hut,

Having so far rarely set my face against your counsel I dashed in inadvertence towards the city. At day-break, that man of enlightened mind who had been in that hut came to my palace during durbar time. He greeted me and wished me well. Then he complained saying, "O king of auspicious descent, had you kindly rested in my hut last night, in no way would your wisdom and judgment have been impaired. Rather the worth of a dervish would have risen high to the sky by virtue of your stopping there."

Saying this he walked away while I became dispirited and felt ashamed. Much did I endeavour so that I might make redress and rebuke you in his presence. But on no account did that man of worldwide experience heed my request. Fifthly, O wise man, when Firdausī, the picturesque composer, presented the *Shāh Nāmah* and desired Raiy as recompense you did not let me give the same to him. At that time you gave me an inappropriate counsel to the effect that an elephant-load of silver be given to him instead. By following your counsel I erred. The poet's heart was aggrieved by the said present. He bought some ale in exchange for that present of mine which he despised. As long as the world lasts I shall be put to shame in every country on account of that unhappy counsel of yours'.

1145-1151 When from Maḥmūd, the country conqueror, Ḥasan¹ heard this story through, he invoked blessings on him and praised him. Then he said:

¹ Ahmad bin Ḥasan al-Ma'mandi was, in the words of 'Utbī, a brilliant man of experience, a luminary among his contemporaries and equals, highly efficient in composition, and arithmetic, and conspicuous for his intelligence and correctness of views as well as for

'O lord, to err is human ; sometimes ripe men falter into giving unripe counsel. No one has been infallible all through one's life ; nor does wind always bring a rain of pure pearls. For this sin of mine I may not be held responsible since my counsel would outweigh my fault. A wise man does not want to falter in any case and at any time. Should God's ordainment give an opposite ruling he would be helpless'.

1152-1154 When the king heard this from Hasan he accepted his explanation on the spot and said, 'Since your rectitude outweighs your mistake I hereby forgive all your faults, O man of good repute'.

1155-1156 In the course of that day the minister and the ruler, I am told, had mutual confidence restored. At long last both died and carried with them their rights and wrongs.

his skill in the realization of taxes. There was none amongst young men of his type so resourceful, active, energetic, wise and gifted with rich imagination and planning. His father Hasan Maimandī was also a man of parts and had been made revenue collector of Bust by Subuktigīn. But he was charged with misappropriation and put to death by the latter.

The son Ahmad or Abu'l Qāsim Ahmad bin Hasan al-foster-brother as well as his class-fellow. Both were brought up together and received common lessons at school.

On ascending the throne of Ghaznī Mahmūd lavished favours on Ahmad bin Hasan al-Maimandī and raised him to four high offices in succession, namely accountant-general (*mustaufi-mumālik*), head of the war department (*sāhib-i diwān-i 'arz*) tax-collector (*'āmil*) of the province of Bust and finally wazir.

The duties of the last office, namely *wizārat* being most irksome he earned great reputation by discharging them in an excellent manner. The Sultān was highly impressed by his wazir's superb

1157 May God grant salvation to both since both were always devoted to justice and equity.

Brief account of the death Mahmūd-i Subuktigīn and of the accession of his son Muḥammad-i Mahmūd and of Mahmūd's descendants; may Allah enlighten his tomb!

1158-1159 When the victorious Mahmūd found that the world had come completely under his control he busied himself, night and day, in offering thanks to the Almighty God.

1160-1162 In the year¹ 421, the thirty-sixth year of his reign, the capital was bereft of him for he journeyed from this mortal world to the world of eternity.

qualities and extraordinary abilities including his patronage of learning and deep knowledge of Arabic which the preceding wazir Abu'l 'Abbās Fażl bin Aḥmad had lacked. For this reason the latter had dispelled Arabic from the status it had enjoyed heretofore in the State, being the only vehicle of all official correspondence. Now, Aḥmad bin Ḥasan al-Maimandī restored Arabic to its original status and ordered that all official correspondence must be carried on in Arabic instead of Persian.

However, as luck would have it his remarkable success in the discharge of his duties awakened the jealousy of his rivals and they backbited him to Sultān Maḥmūd. The Sultān dismissed him from the office of wazir after he had filled it over a decade (1013-1024/404-415) and sent him a prisoner into the fort of Kalinjar in the southern Kashmir hills. There he lingered under the charge of one Jangī, a military officer, until the death of Sultān Maḥmūd. In 1031/422 Sultān Maṣ'ūd released him and appointed him as his own wazir. But this ill-fated wazir died the following year (1032/424), leaving behind a good name and reputation. See:

(a) Utbi—*Tātīkb-i Yamīnī*, pp. 339-340. Dehli, 1847.

(b) T. F. I., p. 64.

¹ A.D. 1030

1163-1169 Verily whoever comes into this world such is his end at last. However, death is more delightful than life to anyone who has luckily sown the seed of goodness in this farm. He enjoys the fruits from the garden of happiness. His departure from this antique earth is like going from a prison into a garden. His venerable body is merged completely into dust and his lofty soul mixes with the birds of paradise morning and evening, moving like an orchard bird, let out from a cage. His cup-bearer is houri and his drink the water of paradise; and angels are his companions in that abode of joy.

1170-1172 As for myself, I am like a drunkard; and to cherish the memory of my friends in that garden I say every moment, 'Come O cup-bearer, and give me a soul-pleasing cup out of the goblet of mystery, making me so intoxicated that I might leap out of this garden and take my abode in the other orchard.'

1173-1177 When Maḥmūd departed this world, he left behind six sons in this caravan. One of those six was Abdur Rāshīd, a prince of lucky stars; second and third were Ibrāhīm and Ismā'īl, both conspicuously wise; fourth was Naṣr-i Maḥmūd; fifth was Maṣ'ūd Shāh and sixth was Sultān Muḥammad whom fortune installed on the throne after the death of his father.

COMMENTARY

When in 961/350 'Abdu'l Malik bin Nūh, fifth king of the Sāmānī kingdom of Bukhārā which comprised Transoxiana, Khurāsān and the Helmund and Kābul valleys died, leaving behind a tender son Abu'l Maṣṣūr, Alptigīn the Turkish slave of Abdu'l Malik bin Nūh Sāmānī and

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governor of Khurāsān, became restive. Abu'l Mansūr reconciled himself with this rebellious governor and recognized him as an independent ruler of Ghaznī.

After the death of Alptigīn in 963/352 Ghaznī passed under the rule of his slave and general, Pīrītigīn the tyrant. During his reign the Hindū government of Kābul which had been viewing with jealousy the rise of the upstart power of Ghaznī made a military demonstration on the frontiers of Ghaznī. But the demonstrators were driven back by the joint forces of Pīrītigīn and Subuktigīn who was another slave and general of Alptigīn. However, it was believed that victory rested with Subuktigīn alone; and the Turkish amirs installed him on the throne of Ghaznī to the exclusion of Pīrītigīn whom they deposed.

Born in 942/331 at Jūq, a minor principality of Turkistān, Subuktigīn was taken by some Turkish raiders to Bukhārā and sold to Abū Naṣr, a merchant, who presented him to Alptigīn. Alptigīn gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. In due course Subuktigīn ascended the throne of Ghaznī. During his reign began that territorial expansion of Ghaznī on the borderland of India which provoked the Hindūshāhiya kingdom of Lamaghān, Kābul and the river Chināb into creating a conflagration. Since this kingdom spread up to Multān and Poonch and claimed Waihind in southern Kashmīr as its capital Raja Jaipāl of Waihind resolved to stop the expansion of Ghaznī. Thus he lit the flames of a war which consumed the Hindūshāhiya kingdom. The whole of this kingdom was, as a consequence, annexed to the empire of Ghaznī.

It is said that Jaipāl had parried a raid which Subuktigīn had made by making a military demonstration on the frontier of Ghaznī. Subuktigīn gave him battle near the

Ghuzak hill¹ and then made peace, accepting a large indemnity. When, on returning to his capital Waibind, Jaipāl refused to pay the indemnity and maltreated the amirs of Ghaznī who had been sent to collect the indemnity. Subuktigīn invaded the Hindūshāhiya kingdom and annexed some territory in the Helmund valley up to Lamaghān. Jaipāl retaliated by invading Ghaznī with a huge army, collected from all over Hindustān. The Khaljis and Afghans who inhabited this region henceforth manned the army of Ghaznī.

Mahmūd who had seen during his father's lifetime the outbreak of this war took up the gauntlet and marched upon India in 999/389.

The *first* invasion which took place in September 1000/*Shawwāl*, 390 was directed against the frontier forts of the Khyber Pass. It was but an attempt at pronging and reconnoitring. For the *second* invasion which culminated in the battle of Peshawar both parties were well prepared. Marching from Ghaznī with an army of 15,000 cavalry and numerous camp-followers in September 1001 (*Shawwāl*, 391) Mahmūd found Jaipāl already established in a plain near Peshawar with a much larger army the strength of which is put at 12,000 horse, 30,000 foot and 300 war-elephants. In the battle that ensued on 27th November, 1001/8th *Muharram*, 392 Mahmūd dispersed them all. Jaipāl with some of his sons and grandsons was taken prisoner.

The *third* invasion was directed against Bhatinda (Bhatiya²) whose Raja Bajī Rāī by name had been friendly

¹ This hill stood between Ghaznī and Lamaghān, M. G. p. 29.

² I agree with Dr. Nazim (M. G. p. 200) that 'the speculations of modern historians in identifying Bhatiya with Bhira,

to Subuktigīn. But he disappointed Maḥmūd when the latter during his war with Jaipāl needed his help. So, with the intention of conquering Bhatinda Maḥmūd started from Ghaznī in October 1004/*Dhilhijja*, 394. A battle was fought near Bhatinda. Bajī Rāī was completely defeated and ultimately committed suicide. On his return to Ghaznī Maḥmūd marched through the territory of Abul Fath Dā'ūd Lawī of Multān. Dā'ūd tried to block his passage. The Indus too was in fury. But the Sultān came back safely to Ghaznī towards the close of May 1005/*Rajab*, 395.

The *fourth* invasion aimed at the conquest of Multān. Since Abu'l Fath Dā'ūd had allied himself with Bajī Rāī of Bhatinda and tried to block Maḥmūd's passage the latter resolved to destroy his power. Starting from Ghaznī in March 1006/*Jumāda II*, 396 he crossed the Indus near Peshawar and then laid siege to Multān. Dā'ūd sued for peace. The Sultān imposed hard conditions including a promise to relinquish his Carmatian (*Qarāmita*) creed. Afterwards he returned to Ghaznī, entrusting the task of subduing the adjoining parts of Multān to Sukhpāl¹ (now Nawāsa Shāh, grandson of Jaipāl of Waihind).

The *fifth* invasion aimed at crushing the rebellion of Nawāsa Shāh to whom the control of the adjoining parts.

Bhatnair, and Uchh are wide of the mark and that the only place of importance which can really be identified with it is Bhatinda which has always been famous for its impregnability. It commanded the route into the Gangetic valley and it was necessary for Maḥmūd to reduce it.

¹ Left as a hostage at Ghaznī by his grandfather Jaipāl, Sukhpāl embraced Islām and was called Nawāsa Shāh in view of the fact that he was grandson of Jaipāl of the famous Hindūshāhiya dynasty.

of Multān had been entrusted by Maḥmūd. Nawāsa Shāh now apostatized and appears to have joined hands with Abu'l Fath Dā'ūd who was still at large. At that time Sultān Maḥmūd was grappling with his own father-in-law Ilak Khān, ruler of Kāshghar, having dispossessed him of Khurāsān, parts of which he had unlawfully seized; and Maḥmūd was pursuing him in the direction of the Oxus. But on hearing of the rebellion of Nāwāsa Shāh the Sultān relinquished the pursuit; and crossing the Indus in the winter of 1007/Rabī II, 398 he appeared before Multān. There he inflicted a defeat on Nawāsa Shāh who fled towards the Salt Range.

The *sixth* invasion was directed against the Hindū confederacy which was now formed at the insigation of Anandpāl, a grandson of Jaipāl of Waihind. It is said that the rājas of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kālinjar, Kanauj, Dehlī and Ajmer had joined hands in their attempt to invade Ghaznī and destroy it. To prevent this catastrophe Maḥmūd marched out of Ghaznī in December 1008/Rabī II, 399. On reaching the plain of Waihind across the Indus he encountered the Hindū allies in a battle and defeated them all. They fled away.

The *seventh* invasion which resulted in the capture of Nāgarkot was a concomitant of the sixth. From Waihind the victor proceeded to the fort of Nāgarkot. It was captured after a siege of three days. Maḥmūd then entrusted the administration of the fort to a trusted amīr and himself marched with his army on Narāyanpūr, now Alwar. The rāja offered resistance but was defeated and Narāyanpūr was captured.

The *eighth* invasion was directed against Multān because Abu'l Fath Dā'ūd had intensified his hostility.

Mahmūd reached Multān in the winter of 1010/Jumāda II, 401. Dā'ūd was defeated and captured. He was sent a prisoner to Ghaznī and then to an obscure fort near Qandahār where he died.

The *ninth* invasion was directed against Thānesar. Mahmūd marched out of Ghaznī in October 1012/Rabī I, 403, intent on crushing the Hindū confederacy which was being formed to protect Thānesar. The only pitched battle that took place in the course of this invasion was near the river Sutlej where a raja known as Rām who offered opposition to Mahmūd was defeated. Mahmūd then obtained great booty and returned to Ghaznī.

In the course of the *tenth* invasion that followed in 1014/405 Sultān Mahmūd marched against the fortress of Nandana in the Salt Range which commanded the main route into the Gangetic Doab and was held by Trilochanpāl, the raja of Lāhor. Unaided, Trilochanpāl, could not resist Mahmūd. So, entrusting the defence of his territory to his son Blimpāl Trilochanpāl swept into Kashmīr, seeking help from Sangramaraja, the ruler of Kashmīr. But before any such help could come Mahmūd captured the fortress of Nandana. Then he defeated Trilochanpāl in a fight near the river Jhelum. Afterwards the victor placed Nandana under the charge of a trusted amīr and returned to Ghaznī.

The *eleventh* invasion (1015/406) was directed against Kashmīr whose ruler Sangramaraja was held guilty for helping Trilochanpāl of Nandana and Lāhor. Perhaps Mahmūd wanted in this manner to conquer Kashmīr. But he failed and returned to Ghaznī.

The *twelfth* invasion was an attempt to penetrate into the Ganges valley. He started from Ghaznī in October 1018/Jumāda II, 409. And passing through the Panjāb

he entered the valley of the Jamuna, thus touching Dehlī which did not attract him. Then he arrived in Baran, modern Bulandshahr ; and after receiving formal submission of its governor, Hara Datta the victor proceeded to Mahāban in the district of Muttra ; then to Muttra itself and finally to Kanauj (1019/410). All these places were easily subjugated. Then were captured the neighbouring forts of Mūnj, Asai and Sharwa; and loaded with booty, Mahmūd returned to Ghaznī.

The *thirteenth* invasion was directed against Kālinjar since Nanda the raja of Kālinjar¹ had headed a hostile confederacy of rajas formed with the object of punishing Rajyapāl, raja of Kanauj, who had submitted to Mahmūd. In fact, they killed Rajyapāl. To avenge this murder and to punish Nanda and his accomplices Mahmūd started from Ghaznī in the winter of 1019/410. Crossing all the rivers successively that came in the way and marching fearlessly through hill and dale he fell upon each member of the confederacy in turn and defeated him.

In the course of the *fourteenth* invasion Mahmūd bent his steps towards Lāhor whose raja Trilochanpāl had obstructed the progress of the army of Mahmūd in the course of his expedition against Kālinjar. Now Trilochanpāl was dead. So Mahmūd inflicted a defeat on his son Bhīmpāl (1021/412). Bhīmpāl fled to Ajmer where he died (1026/416). By virtue of this victory the whole of Panjāb became part of the empire of Ghaznī.

The *fifteenth* invasion was directed against Kālinjar and Gwālior. Nanda the raja of Kālinjar was still unsubdued and was highly truculent. In 1022/413 Sultān

¹ M. G., p. 114. But it appears from other sources that the name of the ruler of Kālinjar was Vidyadhara Chandela.

Mahmūd marched to Kālinjar. But Gwālior being a powerful feudatory of Kālinjar the Sultān stormed the fort of Gwālior which lay on the way. Raja Arjan of Gwālior sued for peace. The Sultān then advanced to Kālinjar which was captured, and the raja having made submission to the satisfaction of Mahmūd the latter retired (1023/413).

The target of the *sixteenth* invasion was Somnāth in Kathiawar. Somnāth (literally moon-lord) was the name of that great idol which was capable according to Hindū belief of destroying Mahmūd. Now Mahmūd resolved in turn to destroy it. Starting from Ghaznī in October 1025/*Shā'bān*, 416 he arrived at Multān in the following month. Then he proceeded to Annhilwāra which he captured without encountering any resistance (December 1025/*Shawwāl*, 416). Afterwards, he advanced to Somnāth, defeating *en route* a huge army of the devotees of Somnāth (6 January 1026/14 *Dhilq'ada*, 416) and laid siege to the fort of Somnāth. The following day (7th January 1026/15 *Dhilq'ada*, 416) began a momentous fight which was over in the course of a few hours, Mahmūd acquiring the upper hand. Two days of hard fighting were yet to follow before he enjoyed final victory. Then he entered the temple and acquired untold wealth.

The *seventeenth* invasion was intended to punish the Jats of the Salt Range who had defied Mahmūd and molested his army on his return from Somnāth. On seeing the army of Mahmūd approaching (March 1027/*Muharram* 418) the Jats took refuge in some of the islands of the Indus. Mahmūd pursued them with his fleet of armed boats and a naval battle was fought, the Jats having put into action their own machine of maritime war. But they were defeated and lost to Mahmūd all those islands which had hitherto been their stronghold.

CHAPTER V

SHĀH NĀMAH ELABORATED (I)
FALL OF GHAZNĪ AND RISE OF GHOR

Verses 1178—1951

Accession of Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd-i Subuktigīn and his descendants—may Allah sanctify their remains and make paradise their abode!

1178-1182 When Maḥmūd departed from this world, all the grandees of the State came together. Maṣ'ūd being in 'Irāq, all agreed that Muḥammad should succeed to the throne of his father. The following day all the army chiefs rose at the sounding of drums and decorated a throne with turquoises. On that throne they installed the prince and all paraded as loyalists before him.

1183-1190 After Muḥammad had mounted the throne of Maḥmūd the news of this event reached Maṣ'ūd. He marched from 'Irāq with such a huge army that the nine skies were lost in its dust. He arrived angrily at the outposts of Ghaznī. And when the inhabitants of Ghaznī heard of this, a meeting was held by the army chiefs and measures were concerted in secret. They said to one another: 'Maṣ'ūd will make a better king. Although Muḥammad is the son of Maḥmūd we do not see in him an aptitude for justice and equity. It is better that we remove him from the State and drive him to a place of contentment. We must apply a hot iron to his eyes without delay and raise Maṣ'ūd to the throne'.

1191-1194 By making such an ugly decision the army chiefs marred their own respective fortunes. Then they sent a messenger secretly to the lucky Maṣ'ūd saying: 'We are all your well-wishers; all are looking forward to your coming. Come quickly so that we may hand over to you the kingdom of Ghaznī and set the royal crown on your head'.

1195 When this message reached Mas'ūd, he led his troops speedily to Ghaznī.

Army chiefs supply a hot iron to the eyes of Muhammad Shāb ibn Maḥmūd Shāb and imprison him and they give the crown and throne to Mas'ūd

1196-1203 When Mas'ūd's army arrived near Ghaznī the self-same perverse chieftains of the capital applied a hot iron to the eyes of Muhammad and imprisoned him without encountering any opposition. Then they came out of Ghaznī as well-wishers of the headstrong Mas'ūd. They took to him the crown and royal robe together with presents, *nīṣār*¹ and tribute, and performed *pābos*² because he was the *defacto* son of (Maḥmūd) the king of the world. Then they set the crown on his head and everyone immediately swore allegiance to him. They scattered abundant jewels by way of *nīṣār* on his head, placed their heads on the ground and then stood to the left and right.

1204-1205 After seven months had elapsed since the death of Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd's enthronement, he received the title of *Nāṣiru'ddīn* for he was a generous king of *Kiyānī*³ descent.

1206-1211 During his reign, I am told, the *Saljuqs*⁴

¹ *Nīṣār* (literally scattering, strewing) signifies anything which is scattered and strewn out of regard and love for another person.

² Literally kissing the foot.

³ *Kiyānī* was the surname of the second ruling dynasty in pre-Islamic Irān. *Kiyānī* is an adjective from *kiyān*.

⁴ *Saljuqs*—so called after the name of their ancestor *Saljūq* bin *Daqāq*, a Turkoman chieftain of *Turkistān*—were a nomadic tribe of infidel Turks who had their abode in the Kirghiz steppes till the tenth century A. D. (fourth century Hijra). In the latter

with a large army stormed Ghaznī three times, but they were defeated on all three occasions by his army. Their fourth invasion was followed by a three-day pitched battle between the two armies. On the fourth day, Mas'ūd suffered defeat and fled to Ghaznī and the whole of his camp fell into the hands of the enemy.

1212-1213 That same year he left Ghaznī and set out on a military expedition for Hindustān. Meanwhile, he placed Ghaznī¹ under the care of his son Maudūd.

part of the tenth century Saljūq moved with his clan from the steppes into the Muslim territory of Jand in Bukhārā which was then ruled by the Sāmāni Turks. Pressed by circumstances and in the hope of improving their prospects through the pursuit of war Saljūq and his tribesmen embraced Islām. Before long, they captured the keyposts in the government and army of Bukhārā; and won for their Sāmāni ruler some victories, frustrating his rival and enemy Īlak Turkoman, ruler of Balasaghūn, an obscure territory in the steppes. They also came into conflict with Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who defeated them in Transoxiana. Afterwards they ingratiated themselves with him and were allowed to settle in Khurāsān. They consolidated their position there; and within a decade after the death of Maḥmūd they seized the whole of Khurāsān.

Towards the close of his reign Mas'ūd opened a crusade against them. Three times he scattered their forces in the neighbourhood of Marv and Sarakhs. Eventually he fought a battle with them for three days running at Tāliqān between Marv and Balkh. On the third day he was defeated completely and retreated to Ghaznī

T. N. B. I. p. 14.

¹ Afterwards Mas'ūd went to India; but in the course of his journey at the Marikala pass his Turkī and Hindī slaves revolted and took him prisoner and raised his brother Muḥammad to the throne. Mas'ūd was then sent to the fort of Girī, north-east of Peshāwar where he was killed in 1040/42.

1214-1216 After his army had marched for a considerable distance on the road to Hindustān and reached a place called Mārikala,¹ the same group of chieftains who had given him the crown and signet struck him down with the sword of enmity, killing him instantly unawares. Thus they created another trouble.

1217-1219 When after a period of nine years Mas'ūd vacated the throne and departed from this world, Muḥammad who was a prisoner at Mārikala was taken out of prison quickly. He was crowned a second time; all stood before him with girded loins.

1220-1223 Four months after this, Maudūd marched troops from the capital, determined to avenge the murder of his father. God gave him victory over the enemies. He seized Muḥammad and killed him in the battlefield along with that party of the accursed chieftains who had treacherously killed Mas'ūd and had made Muḥammad king.

1224-1225 After shedding their blood, Maudūd ruled for nine years in the place of his father. Then he departed from this world passing the key of the kingdom to others.

1226-1227 Afterwards 'Alī and Muḥammad sat jointly on the throne by the strength of good fortune. 'Alī was the son of Mas'ūd and Muḥammad the son of Maudūd.

1228-1229 One day, I am told, after 'Alī and Muḥammad had ruled jointly at the capital for two months, the army chiefs deposed them from kingship.

¹ Mārikala or Margala is the name of a pass, two miles east of Hasan Abdāl. It has also been identified with Taxila, twelve miles north-west of Rawalpindi. Cf. Sachau, I, p. 302; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, p. 204; E. I. M., 1933-34, p. 21 and S.I.M.H. vol. i, p. 193.

1230-1234 They gave the ring to 'Abdu'r-Rashīd, son of Maḥmūd. When his reign had lasted two years he was killed by the malignant Tughril, who had been the chief commander of the army under Maṣ'ūd and a slave from among the slaves of Maḥmūd. This man became ruler of Ghaznī; but forty days after this the slaves of Maḥmūd suddenly fell upon him and cut off his head.

1235-1237 They delivered the signet to Farrukh, son of Maṣ'ūd-i Maḥmūd. When his reign had lasted seven years, he had an attack of colic, I am told. He died of that pain, delivering the kingdom into the hands of his brother.

1238-1242 I am told that Ibrāhīm the Bold, who was son of the victorious Maṣ'ūd, made peace with the Saljuqs and was rarely called upon to fight with anyone. He had thirty-six sons and forty daughters and was a proud and lion-hearted king. He gave all his daughters in marriage to the saiyeds¹ and the whole country and city were happy under him. After a rule of forty long years with Ghaznī as his capital, God called him away from this world.

1243-1245 When Ibrāhīm Shāh died, 'Alā'u'ddawal,² his eldest son, ascended the throne at Ghaznī. He bore the name of Maṣ'ūd³ and proved a liberal man of the house of Maḥmūd.

¹ This is also mentioned in the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (T. N. B. I. p. 20). One of the daughters of Sultān Ibrāhīm was married to a grandfather of Minhāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*. *Ibid*

² I.e. 'Alā'u'ddawalāh.

³ In fact 'Alā'u'ddawalāh Maṣ'ūd, who is also called Maṣ'ūd III. He had three sons—Kamālu'ddawalāh Sherzād, Arsalān and Bahrām; and all the three ascended the throne one after

1246-1249 Sanjar bin Malik Shāh, a king of the Saljūq dynasty, had a sister of matchless beauty *Mabd-i Irāq* by name. I am told that during the reign of Malik Ibrāhim—a forbearing and generous king—when peace was made with the Saljuqs, they gave *Mabd-i Irāq* in marriage to 'Alāu'ddawal Mas'ūd.

1250-1252 When by the strength of good fortune 'Alāu'ddawal Mas'ūd became king in that capital, he ruled with such a princely mien that he was highly appreciated by the leading men. He died after a reign of seventeen years.

1253-1255 'Alāu'ddawal Mas'ūd left behind two sons¹—Arsalān the generous who crowned himself after his father's death and Bahrām who was influenced by the stars and was born of *Mabd-i Irāq*.

1256-1257 When Arsalān became king of Ghaznī, Destiny created a split¹ between Arsalān and Bahrām Shāh in the capital.

1258-1259 I am told that Bahrām, son of Mas'ūd, went to his mother's relatives. Arriving on the third day in the Saljūq country, he made a complaint against his brother.

the other. 'Isāmī has left out the first one. This omission is pointed out by Mr. S. M. Ja'far in his *Rise and Fall of the Ghaznavids*, p. 28 228, Peshawār, 1940. Also see T. F. vol. 1, p. 85.

It may be noted that Sherzād was deposed before the first year of his reign was over by his brother Arsalān; and subsequently he was killed.

¹ On his accession Arsalān threw all of his brothers into prison. But Bahrām Shāh escaped and fled to Sultān Sanjar and invoked his help.

1260-1261 Sanjar¹, son of Malik Shāh king of the Saljuqs, marched with an army against Ghaznī to avenge the wrong, done to Bahrām Shāh.

1262-1266 Arsalān fought a battle with him and made many a powerful assault on that mountain-like formidable foe. When at last the battle of his resistance was broken by the stone of the adversary's attack, he turned the reins of his steed from that battlefield and took to flight². His reign in that capital, I am told, lasted two years, two months and three days. Sanjar having been victorious made over the dominion of Ghaznī to Bahrām and then went back to his own country³.

1267-1271 After Sanjar, the brave Bahrām became king in that country, aided by good fortune; and all the Saljuqs, who were his relations, supported him. On his maternal side, he was a Saljūq and was therefore dependent on Saljūq aid. On his paternal side, he was a descendant of

¹ At that time Sanjar was the viceroy of Khurāsān on behalf of his brother Muḥammad Sultān bin Malik Shāh. Arsalān made ineffective appeals to Sanjar and Muḥammad Sultān, requesting them to spare Ghazni from the flames of the vindictive war, instigated by Bahrām. Finally Arsalān sent his step-mother who was sister of Sultān Sanjar, charging her to commend him to the latter. But Bahrām had previously insulted this lady by asking her to dance before him. R. F. G. J. p. 230.

² Bahrām fled to India and raised an army with which he returned to Ghaznī as soon as he heard of Sanjar's withdrawal. But he made no headway, Sanjar having again come and confirmed Bahrām on the throne. Finally Bahrām was arrested and put to death. He is said to have ruled about three years (1115/509—1118/512). According to 'Isāmi the dates should be 1114/507 to 1116/510. But his dates are not always reliable.

³ That is, Khurāsān.

Mahmūd. I am told that he was a harmless ruler and had no evil designs against anyone¹.

1272-1276 When his reign had advanced beyond a decade, disorders² broke out in his dominion. In order to kill him an army of the Ghoris marched upon Ghaznī under the command of King 'Alā'u'ddīn of the Ghori stock, better known as *Jahānsuz* and a brother³ of the generous Sām. When the army arrived at Ghaznī, Bahrām Shāh sent his troops to the frontier to repulse the latter.

1277-1282 One day, both the hosts came abreast of each other and a battle broke out between the two. In the battle, Daulat Shāh the demon-capturer, son of Bahrām, was struck by an arrow and fell off his horse. He was killed after he had killed many. This mishap caused defeat of the king of Ghaznī and the brave Ghoris set their hands to plunder. Bahrām Shāh went to Hindustān and the

1 Bahrām Shāh was a patron of learning and literature. Of the many works that are said to have been written during his reign the most important was the *Kalilah Dimnah*. Originally of Indian origin as is evident from its present form and current name—*Anwār Subaili*—the *Kalilah Dimna* was then translated from Arabic into Persian by one Naṣrullāh bin Muḥammad and dedicated to Bahrām Shāh.

2 Prince Qutbu'ddin Muḥammad of Ghor was put to death by Bahrām who thus invited troubles for himself. He also drained his strength by fighting battles on Indian soil with one Bahlīm, an amīr whom Arsalān Shāh had appointed in India. T. F. I, p. 87 cf. T. N. B. I, p. 34.

3 'Alā'u'ddin *Jahānsuz* was a brother of Bahā'u'ddin Sām, the latter being the father of Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghori, the famous conqueror and pioneer of Muslim rule in India.

Ghoris captured Ghaznī. They continued plundering it for a week¹ and then withdrew.

1283-1286 When Bahrām heard of the Ghoris' return from Ghaznī, he left Lahore (*Lābor*) for Ghaznī and again became its ruler. After a reign of full forty years and ten months, he passed away entrusting the key of the kingdom to Malik Khusrau.

1287-1289 Malik Khusrau, a Turk of the Ghaznī stock and a descendant of the virtuous Maḥmūd, became ruler of Ghaznī; and during his reign the realm enjoyed peace and prosperity. Towards the close of his reign, the Ghuzz² fell upon Ghaznī, I am told.

Ghuzz capture Ghaznī and after a decade Ghiyāṣuddīn recaptures it from them

1290-1293 All of a sudden, the Ghuzz fell upon Ghaznī. Since Khusrau Malik was unprepared he left for Hindustān without giving battle. The Ghuzz captured Ghaznī without delay. When Khusrau Malik arrived at

¹ For seven days Ghīzni was plundered ruthlessly and its principal buildings including the tombs of the Ghaznavī princes barring those of Maḥmūd, Maṣūd I and Ibrāhīm were burnt down.

² Ghuzz is the Arabic form of the Turkish word Oghurz—the name of a select branch of the Turkish people comprising nine-Turkoman tribes who established, in the sixth century A.D., a nomadic empire stretching from China to the Black Sea. Towards the middle of the second century Hijra (eighth century A.D.) the Ghuzz Turks separated themselves from the principal stock of Tartars and adopted Islām as their religion. This took place during the reign of the Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi bin Maṇṣūr (775/158-785/169).

In a word, the Ghuzz were identical with the Turkomans and their parent stock of the Saljuqs.

Lahor he made it his capital. After a reign of seventeen years he departed from this sordid world.

1294-1295 In his place, his son, who was his namesake, became king and was addressed as Malik Khusrau by the guards and the army; and he ruled over the dominion from that capital.

Sultān Ghīyāṣū'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām invades Ghaznī

1296-1302 When the Ghuzz had held possession of Ghaznī for ten years and nine months, Ghiyāṣū'ddīn—a king of Ghorī descent and a talented son of Sām¹—became ruler of Ghor after his father. He rushed his troops to Ghaznī and defeated the Ghuzz army in one onslaught. And when that capital, *i.e.* Ghaznī, fell into his hands, he left it in the charge of that renowned king² Mu'izzu'ddīn,³ the younger son of Sām, with an army around him like

¹ *i.e.* Bahā'u'ddīn Sām. See the genealogical table at the end of this chapter.

² The title khusrav-i nāmvar (renowned king) is an anticipation on the part of İşāmī. Mu'izzu'ddīn was not even a king, as yet, much less renowned king. It was in 569/1174 that Mu'izzu'ddīn ascended the throne of Ghaznī; and it took him more than a decade to earn a reputation.

³ Ghiyāṣū'ddīn and Mu'izzu'ddīn were real brothers. Their mother used to call them by the pet name of Habashī and Zangi—epithets which in the opinion of Raverty are an evidence of their negro-like dark complexion (T.N.R. p. 368). But the pet names coined by the mad affection of a mother cannot be taken literally. Perhaps their skin wore a kind of milky pigment in the midst of the white-skinned Turks. Had they been 'very dark indeed' as Raverty says they could not have been popular leaders of the white-skinned amirs, maliks and khans. Even the populace of Ghor were proud of their complexion and racial features.

pleiades. Then he withdrew from there and went from the frontier of Ghaznī towards Ghor.

¹ 1303-1305 King Mu'izzu'ddīn, the conqueror of Hindustān (*Hind*),¹ settled in Ghaznī in such a manner that no body dared to attack him and all men of standing girded up their loins to carry out his orders. The capital and country bore him goodwill; not even an ant was hurt by him.

¹ 1306 In (the year)² 569 that courageous hero ascended the throne of Ghaznī like Maḥmūd.

¹ 1307-1314 When full six years of his reign had passed, he led³ his army with great display from Ghaznī into Hindustān—a veritable garden. As his army arrived in Nahrwāla, Jai Chand⁴ the Hindū (ruler), heard the news. He called the veteran warriors of Hindustān, marched from Kanauj to Gujarāt and fought a battle with the king of Ghaznī, driving the elephant phalanx in the battlefield in such a manner that all the horses of the Ghaznī army ran amock. All the Turkish contingents were defeated

¹ *Khusrav i Hindgir* in the text (literally capturer of Hindustān) is another example of poetic anticipation on the part of 'Iṣāmī. Sixteen years were yet to be spent in sundry fighting before he could claim to have made any conquests in Rājpūt India.

² 1174 A.D.

³ This was the *first* Indian expedition of Muḥammad Ghorī according to 'Iṣāmī.

⁴ Jai Chand was the ruler of Kanauj, not of Gujarāt. The ruler of Gujarāt was Bhīm Deva (Deo) according to the Muslim chronicles; and Mūlrājā according to the Jain chronicles. S. I. M. H. I., p. 202

According to Minhāj defeat was inflicted on Mu'izzu'ddīn in 574 Hijra (A.D. 1178); and Raverty ascribes it to the fact that his forces were worn out with their long journey through the

and their plans were completely frustrated. They marched homeward in the hope of mustering their clans.¹

1315-1317 When king Mu'izzu'ddīn arrived in the outskirts of Lāhor² (*Lāhaur*), Khusrau Malik³ the Turk—a descendant of Maḥmūd being the ruler—did not consider it prudent to fight him.

1318 He (Khusrau Shāh) sent an elephant⁴ at the hands of his son⁵ who bowed to king Mu'izzu'ddīn submissively.⁶

1319-1322 The king of Ghaznī accepted the elephant as well as the son and then sounded the kettle-drums and left for Ghaznī. The following year,⁷ he mobilized an army from Ghaznī and marched directly into the region of

sandy desert; and according to the Hindū sources it was due to a sudden fall of rains. The battle took place at Gādarara 'Ghaṭṭa, S.I.M.H., I, p. 202.

1 Before his march on Lāhor which took place in 581 Hijra/A.D. 1185 Mu'izzu'ddīn had led an expedition to Dibal in 578/H. (A.D. 1182) and had captured it.

2 Both the manuscripts of the *Futūhu's-Salātin* (verses 574, 1284, 1292, 1317, 1354, 1973, 1985, 1999, 2033, 2036, 2075, 2125, 2166, 2610, 2132, 8041, 8274, 8327, 8921, and 11456) give Lahā'ūr, Lāhor as well as Lāhaur.

3 This should be Khusrau Shāh. Khusrau Malik was the son of Khusrau Shāh. See the genealogical table at the end of this chapter. Mn. T. R. vol. I, pp 61-62

4 This was a renowned elephant, the best of its kind possessed by Khusrau Malik. T.N.R. p. 452

5 The name of his son was Khusrau Malik. *Ibid.*

6 This took place in 577 H (A.D. 1181) according to *Minhāj*, though this date is disputable.

7 *I. e.* 578 H. (A.D. 1182). *Minhāj* puts this event in the year 582 H (A.D. 1186). T.N.R. p. 455

Lāhor. He took Khusrau Malik¹ prisoner and stayed there a month. Then he seized the suburbs of Lāhor and the inhabitants submitted to him.

1323-1324 From Lāhor, he sent Khusrau Malik to Ghor and himself made a dash into Hindustān, a *second* time,² determined to capture this garden.

1325 This time,³ he marched towards Hānsī, having abandoned the direction of the previous expedition.

1326-1330 When the rajas of Hindustān heard this they girded their loins to fight him. Pithora led an army from Ajmer and many Indians rallied round him. From Dehlī came Gobind Rāi⁴ to join him. All the other rajas of Hindustān prepared themselves for the impending battle. They took their troops to the boundary of Tarāīn and blocked the way of the Ghoris.

1 The *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* tells us that Mu'izzu'ddin took Khusrau Malik along with himself to Ghaznī whence he sent him to Firozkoh. There Khusrau Malik was presented before Sultān Ghiyāṣu'd-din and was thrown as a prisoner into the fort of Balarwān while his son Bahrām Shāh was walled up at the Saifrud fortress of Ghor. In 587 H (A.D. 1191) both father and son Khusrau Malik and Bahrām Shāh were murdered. T.N.R., p. 457. Also see p. 144, fn. 2, *infra*.

2 For the *first* invasion see p. 139, f. n. 3

3 This was the first battle fought by Mu'izzu'ddin with Pithora. For the second battle see verses 1411-1457 f. *infra*.

According to *Minhāj* (T. N. R. p. 458) Mu'izzu'ddin led an army towards Sirhind; and according to *Firishta* (T. F. I, p. 99) towards Bahatinda. 'Iṣāmī shows Hānsī as the object of attack. This is not much wide of the mark since Hānsī stood at a moderate distance from Bhatinda.

4 'Iṣāmī's Gobind Rai is Khandey Rai, ruler of Dehlī. T. F., vol i, p. 99.

The *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* (T.N.R. I, p. 458) says that Sirhind was

1331-1336 When the Turkish troops (of Ghor) arrived in Tarāīn,¹ both the armies unsheathed their swords to fight. The brave Hindus on their part, did not delay in fitting themselves for the fight. Pithora mounted an elephant and took his stand in the centre of his army. In the foreground was arrayed a phalanx of elephants which were trumpeting and foaming more than the river Nile. In the vanguard stood the mighty Gobind who was more powerful than all the Hindus. To their left and right were a group of the Hindus whose names had hardly any previous record.

1337-1338 On the other side, all the Turks armed for war had mounted their globe-trotting horses. Their military officers had taken their respective stands under the command of their king to the left and right of the army.

1339-1351 In both the armies, the lines being arrayed, the war-mongers on either side invited combats. I am told that the powerful king himself holding in (one of) his hands a spear fell on the Hindus, shouting and roaring like a furious lion and regardless of the elephants and elephant-

placed under the charge of Qāzī Ziyā'u'ddin Tūlakī, a relation of Minhāj with a garrison of 1,200 horse. Then Mu'izzu'ddin proceeded to Ghaznī; and on his return he fought the battle at Tarāīn with Prithivi Rāj and his son Gola. T.N.R. I, p. 458

1 Tarāīn is situated about seven miles north of Karnāl. Firishta's printed text (T. F. I, p. 101) gives Tarāīn, not Narain as has been reported elsewhere (S. I. M. H, vol. i, p. 202). Subsequently Tarāīn became known as Tarāori or Tirāwri.

In a useful appendix (F. M. R., p. 368) Dr. Habibullah says that the battlefield of Tarāīn may be identified with a village called Torwāra, 27 miles from Sīrsā (Sarsuti). This conclusion he has reached with the help of the information given by Cunningham. C.R., xiv, pp. 68-69.

mounted warriors. In the course of his onslaught upon the Hindus, he dashed towards Gobind's contingent, shedding much enemy blood on the spot. Seeing Gobind mounted on an elephant in the midst of his army he—the army-breaking hero—spurred his horse and threw a lance at the mouth of Gobind. As a result, he broke four teeth of Gobind but the warlike Gobind in return revengefully struck that lion-hearted king a blow with his javelin. This blow wounded the arm of the king and he was thrown from his horse. On seeing him in such a condition a certain Khaljī¹ who stood near by, immediately

¹ Khaljī—the adjectival form of Khalj—is the name of a Turkish tribe who are reported in the *Tabaqāt-i Akbarī* (T.A.B.I, p. 116) to have been descendants of Qālij Khān, son-in-law of Chingiz Khān. It is supposed that Qālij Khān subsequently settled with 30,000 members of his tribe in the hilly tracts of Ghor and the adjoining parts where his descendants who later became known as Khaljī (Qālij being transformed into Khālij and Khalj) entered into the service of the Sultans of Ghor. 'Utbi, a contemporary writer, describes the Afghans and Khaljis as inhabitants of Lamaghān and Peshāwar; and in his account of the war between Jaipāl and Subuktigīn he says that the latter annexed Lamaghān and Peshāwar; and the inhabitants of those parts, namely Afghans and Khaljis made their submission and were drafted into his armies (*wa dānat labū'l Afghāniyat-o wal Khalj Fa matā shā'a' istashāra minhum u'l ălāfa fi khidmat-i bī*. T.Y. p. 29). A reference to Budāūnī (Mn. T. p. 42) and Firishta (T. F. I. p. 154) bears this out showing that the Khalj tribe of the Turks had served in the armies of Ghaznī and Ghor much before the birth of Chingiz Khān. It follows that the Khaljī tribe had settled in Turkistān at a very early date and then in some unknown period they migrated from Turkistān and made their abodes somewhere in the western sector of modern Afghānistān. Afterwards some adventurous members of this tribe joined service under the rulers of Ghaznī and Ghor.

rushed towards him; and seizing him skilfully dragged him away from the battlefield.¹ When the army saw their king in that condition they took to flight.

1352-1355 A defeat was inflicted upon the Turkish contingents; and every contingent of theirs set out for their own country. The defeated king went westward from Hindustān; and on reaching Lāhor in disgrace strengthened many fortifications. He stopped a month or two at Lāhor, I am told; then went on to Ghaznī.

1356-1359 On his arrival in Ghaznī that lion-like king sent a messenger to the country of Ghor; and giving vent to his indignation, he had Khusrau the Turk and his son executed.² Thus Khusrau, a king of good habits, departed from this world after a reign of fourteen years. He was the last of the descendants of Maḥmūd and had been an ocean of kindness and a mine of generosity.

1360 That day, by the perversity of fate, the world saw the last of the house of Maḥmūd.

serving them as soldiers and statesmen. Later they rose to fill the highest offices of responsibility in the government and army of Ghor and Dehlī, one such adventurer being Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khalji, the reputed conqueror of Bengal and another Firoz Khalji, the founder of the Khalji dynasty of Delhī. It has been suggested that Bahlul Lodi who founded the Lodi dynasty in 1451/855 had descended from a clan of the Khaljis. E. I. vol. 2, p. 875.

¹ Minhāj calls this Khalji soldier 'a Khalji stripling who sprang behind the Sultān; and supporting him in his arms, he urged the horse with his voice and brought him out of the field of battle.'

² That is, Khusrau Malik and his son Bahrām Shāh were executed. It should be noted that there were two Bahrām Shāhs; one was the grandfather of Khusrau Malik and another was his son. See p. 41, f.n. 1, *supra*; and compare C. H. I. III p. 37.

Sulṭān Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad's resolve to march upon Hindustān for the third¹ time and his achieving victory over the Hindus.

1361-1365 I have heard from the chroniclers of Hindustān that when Fortune had deserted the rajas of this country, Mu'izzu'ddīn was sleeping peacefully in bed one night. In a dream, he beheld an old man with a key in his hand saying: 'O young man, take this key and open with it the country of Hindustān.' While still dreaming he thought that the old man, who gave the good news, was Sām.

1366-1371 On awaking, the king did not describe the dream to anyone and kept it a secret. Later, he interpreted it for himself and by himself and set his heart accordingly on carrying out the wishes of the old man. Then he summoned the army chieftains and lavished on them much money and many jewels. He wisely proposed to make a sudden attack on the Indian Rāi saying, 'Friends! We must march on Hindustān'. All the chieftains bowed to him and everyone resolved firmly to carry out his order.

1372-1377 This incident was differently narrated by the old headman in the form of a charming story, *viz.* the king of Ghaznī led his troops twice over against the country which is more pleasant than a garden. Kanauj was the capital of its kings and Jai Chand was then the crowned ruler there. When king Mu'izzu'ddīn marched upon Hindustān twice over, not even once was he favoured by fortune. He fled from Hindustān back to his own country on both occasions.

¹ For the first expedition see verses 1307-1314 and foot note 3; and for the second expedition see verses 1323-1324.

1378-1385 One day, as he rolled in bed his head resting on his mother's lap, he was plunged into deep and serious thought. At that time no one was present there except his mother and he felt highly aggrieved on account of his disappointment in the country of Hindustān. If a fly settled on his face, his kind mother drove it away. When the anguish of his heart exceeded all limits, his mother perceived it and enquired saying; 'O country-capturing king, what are you brooding over? For some time you have been plunged in the ocean of thought like a friendless man. Speak your mind outright; do not wander alone in the plain of anxiety.'

1386-1391 When the king heard this from his mother he said: 'O well-wishing mother! Since you want the secret of my heart from me, I see no way out but to tell you the truth. I am now going to tell you my secret for I know that you will not augment my heart sore. Then he uttered a complaint and cursed Destiny saying: 'Upon the country of Hindustan I marched with a huge army twice over, but on both occasions I came back, fleeing to Ghaznī. On account of this my heart is distressed.'

1392-1399 When the mother heard this from her son she said: 'O king, may you enjoy prosperity for ever! May God deliver into your hands the kingdom of the world! Listen to the advice of a mother; accept it if you find it reasonable. You must not give up pursuing and endeavouring to do the work on which you have set your heart, O successful chief. If Fortune has disappointed you twice, you should make two hundred more attempts still until you achieve your object. Don't you see that every moment I drive away the fly from your face a hundred times yet the fly

returns two hundred times more with a drawn sting in order to achieve its object. How nicely the sand sifters observed that it is the hand of sifters that reaches the gold.'

1400-1401 When the king heard this advice from his mother, again his thoughts travelled to Hindustān. He sat on the throne and opened the treasury and gave to everyone money according to his position.

1402-1406 In his army, there were four great veterans who were equal to him in stubbornness. They had grown old in the service of kings but each looked like a young man at the time of fighting. *First* was Khirkak, a renowned hero; *second* was the powerful and talented Khirmīl; *third* was Albah,¹ a warrior of Kāmūs²-like strength and *fourth* was Maklabah,³ an old veteran of Ghor. Under the command of each of these was a large body of troops and each had travelled across the world from one end to the other.

1407-1410 Of the other men in the king's service—each becoming king after him—one was Tāju'ddīn Yalduz, a generous man who after the king's death became monarch of the Ghaznī territory; another was Qabācha who, after His Majesty³ (*Shah-i Jahān*) became king in Multān; another was the powerful and renowned Iltutmish, a slave of the intelligent Qubu'uddīn.

1 Ilyah, according to H. MS.

2 Kāmūs was the name of a powerful king of ancient Irān.

3 Minhāj gives this name as Husain-i Kharmil. He had a son Malik 'Izzu'ddīn Husain who distinguished himself in the service of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī. T.N R., I, pp. 474-475. that is, Muzzuddin Muḥammad of Ghor

Sultān Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām's march for the third time on Hindustān and achieving victory over the Hindus.

1411-1412 Malik Qubu'ddīn Aibak was one of the special slaves of His Majesty to whom the king would tell all his secrets and none enjoyed closer access in private audience than he.

1413-1423 Once His Majesty said to him in secret : 'Our ambition is spurred again. Twice from the territories of Hindustān we have come back frustrated. This time, I entertain a hope that the dark night might turn into a bright day and the Ghorī raid will go direct into the country of Hindustān by the help of God. However, there is one difficulty. The horses of our army have never seen the features of elephants. Our cavalrymen suffer defeat because our horses fight shy of the elephants. You should order that some elephants of mud and wood—mountain-like and steady—be made and installed in the midst of the field, all wearing arms and clad in armour. Then all our troops should mount their horses, wearing war arms and arrive in the field galloping their distance-travelling horses. When our horses become accustomed to the sight of the elephants, our cavalrymen will not be defeated.'

1424 Aibak did as the king had ordered. The following day the army started from there.

Forty Turkish horsemen join Sultān Mu'izz' ddīn in the confines of Sind.

1425-1429 The king conducted the army towards Hindustān. One day, after his arrival near the boundary of Sind, forty vigorous Turkish horsemen waited on him.

Everyone was like Rustam in war and everyone was riding a swift-footed black horse. 'His Majesty enquired of them saying: 'Where are you coming from ? Where do you intend proceeding from this country ? What is your real object in this journey ?'

1430-1435 An ingenuous man from among those forty heroes invoked blessing on the exalted king and said, 'Your Majesty ! We are forty Turks coming from the same district. We belong to the country and race of the Turks. A calamity has befallen us on account of which we have left our family and people and have come out of our own country, looking for a good omen. Now that we have the honour of kissing your royal foot, fortune will smile on us.'

1436-1438 When the king heard their story, he had them robed and gave them riches and much encouragement, and employed them all in his service. He continued advancing along with the army; taking booty from every district.

1439-1440 After they had passed beyond the extremities of Multān, the news of their arrival reached Ajmer. But who could muster courage to break the news in that region for fear of Pithora !

1441-1445 When the conceited Pithora, I am told, realized that Divine aid was with him and that he had once defeated the Turks, he became puffed up, so much so that he heeded no one; and no experienced counsellor remained with him. Even when the army of the Turks arrived in the region of Tarāīn and everyone became aware of it, no one communicated the news to the Rāī because the latter was disagreeable and conceited.

1446 Finally as the army drew closer, the soldiers (of the Rāi's army) lacking power and patience, became confounded.

1447-1450 One of the wives of Pithora whispered the news reluctantly into his ears saying, 'O Rāi of the country of Hindustān ! I have heard that the shameless Turks who had run away from the Rāi in battle have come back into this country again and fomented trouble all over.'

1451-1454 On hearing this, Pithora laughed and his blood boiled. He ordered that a throne of gold be constructed for his royal self and said: 'Should the distracted Turk join battle with us again, I would capture him alive in the course of battle and tie him readily to the foot of this throne.'

1455-1456 When the army of the Turks drew closer, the Hindus¹ girded their loins to destroy the Turks. Pithora erected a royal enclosure and the army pitched their tents around him.

*Pithora and Gobind fight a second battle
with Sultān Mu'izzu'ddīn and are killed*

1457-1458 The next morning, at sunrise, both the armies took their respective positions in the field and the clouds of dust, raised by them, passed beyond the ninth vault of the sky.

1459-1464 On one side that valiant Hindū with a phalanx of ferocious elephants in the front took up his position, deep in the centre, together with all the seasoned

¹ 'Iṣāmi has depicted this battle like many others as a fight between the Hindus and Musalmans. But such was not the case, in fact. There is evidence to believe that there were Hindus in the army of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muhammad of Ghor. Even the new

Hindū warriors. The accursed Gobind whose teeth the king had broken stood in the vanguard of his army along with his contingent at a distance of one arrow-flight from Pithora. To the left of Gobind stood Bhola, wazīr of the Rāi. Badamsa Rāwal took his stand on the right wing.

1465-1474 On the other side, the enemy-hunting king put his army in battle array to the left as well as to the right. In the centre he himself took his stand, surrounded by his obedient troops. The demon-capturing Khirkak was in the vanguard and the intelligent Alba was in the right wing. In the left wing stood Makalba who was a man fit to undertake the hardest of tasks. Khirmil, a man of victorious traditions, who was as strong as iron and as resolute as steel went into ambush at a distance of one arrow-flight, behind the centre of the army under the king's command. As for Qutbu'ddīn Aibak, he organized a mobile column of troops in accordance with the royal order. He had come forward personally and taken his stand near the king. He looked like a fire mounted on wind. This time the king had with him one lakh and thirty thousand cavalrymen, I am told. All were clad in iron and covered with steel and their horses were armoured from head to foot.

1475-1481 When the armies on both sides were set in battle array, dust arose from their springing from side to side. The conceited Gobind sprang like an unbalanced man. In front of his array dashed noisily a phalanx of steel-clad ferocious elephants. As they fell suddenly on Khirkak's

garrison of Bhatinda which was placed under the charge of Qāzī Ziyā'u'ddīn Tūlak contained contingents of Hindustānī soldiers who were either Hindus or had sprung from Hindū stock. Cf. T. N. R. p. 458.

contingent, simultaneously there sounded many a drum, bugle and trumpet. Khīrbak held up the shield to his face but budged not an inch in spite of the pandemonium. He told his comrades to make an assault on the elephant-drivers. Accordingly some elephant-drivers were wounded and the whole phalanx of elephants took to flight.

1482-1485 I am told that the phalanx of elephants having thus fled, Khīrbak beating the drum passed beyond the elephants. When the king saw the enemy troops fleeing he said, 'Let the army chieftains move simultaneously from right and left and fall upon the belligerent enemy. He himself sprang from the centre along with the veterans who were well-versed in the use of spears, arrows and swords.

1486 When the Hindus saw this upsurge, they were seized with terror and began fleeing, row after row.

1487 The army of the Turks got the upper hand in that fight and the adversaries took to their heels.

1488-1489 Their veteran warriors fell upon the enemies, one and all, and put them to the sword ruthlessly. Then they set their hands to plunder and the entire camp of the enemy fell into their hands.

1490-1491 Pithora, the country-capturing Rāi, was captured alive and the lions of Ghor cut off his head which they carried to the king of lion-like strength.¹

1492 Gobind having fallen in the battlefield they took his head too to the king.

1493-1495 They captured two hundred elephants which were trumpeting and more impetuous than the torrents of the Nile besides many horses of Indian stock

¹ That is, Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām.

and Arabian breed and other horses, tents, saddles and mules.

1496 They also decapitated many of the enemies and seized the whole of that area and land.

1497-1500 The same day the country-conquering Turks seized Ajmer, I am told. Then the suburbs of Ajmer were overrun by king Mu'zzu'ddīn Ghorī. In such a manner did he ride gloriously everywhere that even the mountains, seized with terror began to shake; and on occupying the area of Ajmer, he annihilated the abodes of the enemies.

1501-1507 He offered boundless thanks to God in the manner of a godly man. One day, he summoned the leading officers¹ and cast much gold in the skirt of everyone. As a result, they (the royal attendants) were actuated and arranged a fête. They raised a lofty canopy which eclipsed the sun. It was decorated on all four sides, and musicians sat from corridor to corridor. For a week the king thoroughly enjoyed himself but he neglected not thanks-giving to God. Verily he who expresses gratitude to God, enjoys the fruit during his own lifetime.

1508-1514 When the Hindū troops were defeated many of them were taken prisoner alive, I am told. They enquired, saying: 'Where are those contingents—the green-clad swift riders,² each mounted on a swift-footed horse—who have captured us? When His Majesty's soldiers heard this they went to him and narrated this. His Majesty who had been already initiated in the mystery knew that that victory was due to Divine aid which comes

¹ That is, the leading officers of the army.

² That is angels.

from on high to those who devotedly praise God. The triumphant king dedicated his tongue to praising the Almighty God.

1515-1530 O intelligent, talented king, do not remain negligent of God's praises under any circumstance. Look ! From a blending of water and earth how elegant has the Universe Creator made you. First, He created you as an animal; then you became a rational animal. Having made you a rational animal and man He made you choice of all men. He gave you a share in the religion of Muhammad. He showered favours on your holy soul and gave you kingship in the world; the whole city and country came into your hands. If you do not thank God, how can you achieve victory, O king? The high and low; woman and man; king and beggar—all are in duty bound to thank God. Whoever has declined to thank God, all his wealth has perished in the long run, What a good advice has been given by the great sages ! That is, a slave must return thanks to God in all circumstances. If you are an insolvent, even then you should return thanks to God so that pursuing this you might become rich. If you are wealthy render thanks to Providence so that wealth may increase and stay. While enjoying health you should offer thanks to God so that you may not suffer from ailment as long as you live, O intelligent man. If you are ailing the same is the remedy. I have not seen in the wide world any elixir other than thanks-giving. Should you acquire the virtue of rendering thanks to God you would not be ungrateful for the benefits, already received. No word other than *shukr* (thanks be to God) must be uttered day and night; you must close your lips against every other utterance.

1531 Rendering thanks to God is an obligation on all, particularly on the wealthy man and the king.

1532-1539 I am told that out of the kings and wealthy men—when God gave them resources in the world—four men returned increasingly great thanks to God; that is, two men of wealth and two country-conquering kings. From among the kings one was a king of Ghaznī called Maḥmūd; another was that Ghorī king of high descent, who went by the title of Mu'izzu'ddīn. From among the wealthy men, one was M'an,¹ another was Yaḥyā,² both being proverbially renowned for their kindness and generosity. Although all the four have departed from this world, their names are outstanding in history. If I could cherish their memory, I would drink every morning the lovers' wine in their name. In this transitory world, my wine is always gratitude to God and my desserts the names of the men of piety.

1540-1542 Every morning—the time for enjoyment and at the morning drink—I will utter as dictated by my soul: 'come, O cup-bearer, give me the cup of secrets and a sense of repulsion from the wine distilleries. Make me so intoxicated with such a wine that even if the whole world were ruined, I should not feel it.'

1. M'an bin Zāidah—a contemporary of Maṇṣūr the second Abbasid caliph—was for some time governor of al-Jazirah, a region in the Euphrates Doab. He was noted for his generosity and liberality and used to give away large sums to poets, presenting in this manner a contrast to the caliph of his age, Maṇṣūr Dawāniqī, a proverbially thrifty and miserly person.

2. Yaḥyā bin Khālid of the Barmak family of Baghādād was famous for his extraordinary charity. He never disappointed anyone who approached him.

Sultān Mu'izzu'ddīn besieges Gwālior (Gāliyūr) and the daughter of the Rāi of Gwālior comes out and returns after making peace

1543-1545 One day when Mu'izzu'ddīn—that king with an ocean-like army who had been resolute in the path of God—became victorious over the Hindū troops, he left that place. He marched the army in the direction of Gwālior¹ (Gāliyūr) with a smile on his lips and joy in his heart.

1546-1550 When His Majesty arrived² in Gwālior, no one from among the Hindus came out of the fortress. They were struck with terror on seeing the royal army and felt as if the whole world was filled with His Majesty's troops. They said :

'This huge army—which has defeated the troops of Hindustān, has cut the heads of Pithora and Gobind and has routed their ranks in one onslaught—is to be feared lest it should attack our fortress and turn the Hindū foundations into dust'.

1551-1554 The Rāi of Gwālior became nervous through weakness. Day and night he was drowned in sorrow; his

1. 'Gwālior', though akin to the English spelling, is adjustable. The spelling usually found in the chronicles is *Gwāliār* or *Gāliyūr* and *Kāliyūr*.

2. The *Tāju'l Maāsir* (A. S. Ms. No. 110, p. 329f.) gives a brief account of the conquest of *Gwāliār* (*Kāliyūr*); and certain features of the story mentioned by 'Isāmī are traceable in it. For instance, on seeing the army of Mu'izzu'ddīn invade his dominion Solankh Pāl the raja of *Gwāliār* became alarmed and dispirited. He sued for pardon and surrendered, agreeing to pay tribute; and gave ten elephants as a peace-offering. On this condition the fort of Gwālior was restored to him. E.D. II, p. 228.

fortress was like a boat surrounded by an ocean-like army. Three or four months passed in this manner; then Destiny brought forth a strange thing. All the inmates of the fortress began to celebrate a Hindū festival. The Hindus, wherever they are, perform their religious ceremonies according to their custom.

1555-1563 Inside the fortress (of Gwālior) they held a fête. They were all aggrieved at heart, though outwardly they were magnificently dressed. But the Rāi had a virgin daughter whose beauty added lustre to that of the moon. By means of a single flirtation she used to break the barriers of patience and plundered the human endurance completely. I am told that on that day of the fête, wearing ornaments from head to foot, she came most cheerfully to the Rāi, attended by sixty-seven maids of silvery body. She respectfully kissed the foot of her father, not alone but, along with the other rosy-cheeked maids. Then she said:

'O Rāi of lucky stars! This is the day of rejoicings; give us the customary annual gift and observe the convention of our land and country.'

1564-1570 When the father heard this from his daughter, he said: 'O dear one, dearer to me than my own life! Every year, at spring time, in the garden of Hindustān the rajas of Hind give the revenue of a district to their daughters and adorn their foreheads with a golden crown. But this year you excuse me for I have been deprived of the administration of the country. In this country another man has become king through whose fear my house has become a dungeon. Since, another man is king in my country and I have been deprived, do

not ask me for the customary gift. If you so like, you may desire this gift from him for all the revenue is collected by him.'

1571-1575 When the daughter heard this from her father, she walked out of the fortress with grace and dignity. Wearing on her head a bejewelled crown, she sat on a chestnut horse and was followed by a large number of amiable women. All of them trained in the art of blandishments and mounted on horses came out suddenly from the fortress. From the army of the Turks arose a gasp and every person blushed and became radiant.

1576-1578 The Turks rushed towards the fortress, having girded their loins one and all, to give battle. They saw an army of girls with silvery bodies who could capture anyone by means of their curls. All were pliers of the arrows and swords of blandishments; all were like the angel-capturing deer.

1579-1581 When the Turks saw such an army, their hostility was transformed into love. Putting their swords into the scabbards they took those girls to their own king of renown. The daughter of the Rāi who was in the lead prostrated herself immediately as she came before the king.

1582-1587 She invoked blessings on him amidst a hundred good wishes and said: 'O king of the globe! To-day is fête in the country of Hindustān; and the Indian rulers are celebrating the new year to-day by giving much wealth to their daughters and placing golden crowns on their heads. To-day according to the conventions of my country, I asked the Rāi the customary gift for myself. But our Rāi, having been deprived of rule, has sent me to Your Majesty (*Shabryār*).'

1588-1591 On hearing this from that sweet girl His Majesty smiled. He was impressed and said: 'Ask of me whatever you desire.' She opened her sweet lips saying: 'Your Majesty¹! From you I desire nothing but the dominion of my father. Keep your hands off this dominion and territory and remove your camp from the fortress base.'

1592-1594 When the king heard this he said, 'O charming girl', I grant you hereby whatever you have desired of me provided the custom and practice of idolatry be discontinued in the fortress of Gwālior. I will raise a lofty mosque there and shall break the idol houses.'

1595-1597 That beautiful girl accepted the king's word and then returned to the fortress. She repeated to her father whatever she had heard from the king; and the Rāi saw no escape from the king's order. He gave his consent to the demolition of the temples. This event passed into history.

1598-1599 By order of the king, a mosque² was then erected in the fortress. Then the king bestowed the country on the Rāi and started from there the following day.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām returns from Hindustān triumphantly and to the delight of friends after achieving victory, leaving Qutbuddīn Aibak in Kubrām

1600-1601 In the year³ 588 Pithora and Gobind were subdued; the armies of Islām became victorious.

¹ The text has *Shāh-nāmwar*, literally the renowned king.

² The story of the girl is apparently a flourish from the pen of 'Isāmī. It is not confirmed; nor is there any confirmation available about the erection of mosque and the demolition of temples.

³ A.D. 1192

1602-1604 After the king of Ghaznī had captured Hindustān he sounded the drum of return towards Ghaznī making Qutbu'ddīn Aibak governor of Hindustān. His Majesty posted him at Kuhrām whence an assault could be made upon every district.

1605-1611 I am told that while returning the king passed through the territory of Gujarāt. Along the highway, he saw a strong fortress named Ahranwārā¹ in which many Hindus had made their abode. Around that fortress the king struggled for a month but hardly did he find a way to conquer it. Eventually, I heard that a great number of Hindū troops collected from the area around; and one night, from inside as well as from outside the fortress they fell upon the Muslims and overwhelmed them. During that night they made an assault unawares and killed many Turks.

1612-1614 When the king perceived that kind of trick typical to the Hindū he made a successful withdrawal from that place on the following day. After some time, he reached Ghaznī where his army rested from the fatigue of the journey. The survivors sat in one place, remembering those who had been martyred.

1615-1617 In the city of Ghaznī one was laughing, another was bewailing, for in this world none is free from these two features. In one house, there was mourning; in another merriment: such was the condition of this paradise of Ghāzni, full of palaces. One arrived there loaded with booty, while another was martyred in Hindustān.

¹ This fort cannot be identified. From the context it appears that this is Nahrwāla, now Patan, the then capital of Gujarāt.

1618-1621 No one knows this practice except Destiny who gives joy of drinking to one and crop-sickness to another. Since conditions in the world are changing constantly, few have probed into its mystery. Come, O cup-bearer! Pour wine in my cup and relieve me from the evil times so that I might capture the other world through intoxication (*masti*) and use the pen to write another story.

Schemers busy in misrepresenting Qutbuddin Aibak before the Sultān who summons Qutbu'ddīn

1622-1625 The renowned Qutbu'ddīn whom His Majesty had left in Hindustān—after bringing the *iqtā* of Kuhrām well under control—beat the drum of march towards Meerut (*Mirath*). In one onslaught he captured that fortress; and in the course of one week he brought that region under his control and moved about in that area as he liked, making a new conquest every day.

1626-1630 One day, he led the army from Mirath, and on the third day he arrived at the fortress of Dehlī. He conquered that lofty fortress quickly, crushing the resisting forces.¹ The whole of Katehr submitted to him; and the stronghold (*kattī*) of all the local chieftains having been subdued they came to pay homage at his court in the course of the succeeding one year or two. Every day his territories (*iqtā*) increased and the chiefs therein made submission to him.

1631-1634 When a great number of troops had rallied round him, some schemers said to the king: 'Qutbu'-ddīn has revolted against your Majesty (*Shāh-i āfāq*)² and

¹ *Gumrabān* in the text will literally mean.

² Literally king of the world.

proclaimed himself king of the whole of Hindustān. He has become so conceited on account of his riches and strength that he considers no one superior to himself. They spoke much truth as well as untruths about him and showed his milk as curd.

1635-1639 When the king became suspicious of Quṭbu'ddīn, he sent a messenger in order to put him to test, saying, 'Tell Quṭbu'ddīn, O intelligent and good-natured man! In this region we have to confront a serious opposition which cannot be surmounted by a little soldiery. You should leave behind a man of intelligence who might be an expert in administration. You must come over here soon and must not neglect this, O successful chief!'

1640 When that messenger came to Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak he learnt from him about the king's suspicions.

1641-1647 Quṭbu'ddīn sent him back to the royal court saying, 'O royal messenger, go back from here to the king, treading swiftly the road you have come by. When you finish the long journey, kiss the king's foot on my behalf. Then invoke blessings in my name and say to the ruler, 'Aibak is your well-wishing slave; he would never swerve from your court.' A week after this, Aibak himself started for the royal capital.

Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak sets out towards Ghaznī leaving Shamsu'ddīn Iltutmish in Hindustān

1648-1650 There was a respectable Turkish slave named Iltutmish who had proved himself by far the best warrior in battle; and in every other business he had acquitted himself intelligently and wisely. In the royal

court he held a position which roused the jealousy of the army officers.

1651-1655 When Malik Quṭbu'ddīn Aibak—a man of good habits and benevolent nature—set out for Ghaznī, he left the said Iltutmish in Hindustān and himself marched with a huge army to perform His Majesty's *pābos*. When the army reached Ahranwāra the Hindus revolted and became aggressive. Powerful as they were in those days they advanced from the fortress to a distance of two *parasangs*.

1656-1661 Seeing the enemy forces advance, the exalted Quṭbu'ddīn, who was like a lion at the time of fighting, stopped his horse for a moment. He summoned his comrades who were like lions in the battlefield and said: 'O my comrades, let us display our fighting skill in this battle. We should abstain from arraying the line; we must make a surprise attack like a fierce lion. In a moment let us break the enemy's ranks; then we will assail their fortress'.

1662-1663 Saying this he dashed his horse towards the enemy shouting *Allāh-o Akbar*. He broke the enemies' ranks in one sally. Wherever there was a chief, he was captured alive.

1664-1665 The Turkish heroes arrived in unbroken succession and damaged the enemy's fortress. They captured it in no time for they were helped by luck and were destined for victory.

1666-1672 When Quṭbu'ddīn captured that fortress completely the world was amazed at that victory. For two or three days he stayed, collecting all the goods in that fortress. The day after, at sunrise, he left one of his relatives there with a contingent of troops. He himself

marched with the army to Ghiznī, scattering gold along the way. On his arrival near Ghaznī he quartered his army in a lowland, I am told. From that lowland he rode alone, advancing swiftly towards Ghaznī.

1673-1675 At nightfall, in the solitude of the occasion, the sky spread its golden cover. The king of midday went into privacy; the dominion of the day became property of the king of the night. The vault of the sky became full of dusk; the aged univese became youthful again.

1676-1680 Malik Qutbu'ddin reached Ghaznī and proceeded to the house of a wazir who was his close friend. On arriving at the latter's door, he asked the bearers to announce his presence. The bearers did so, saying to the wazir: 'A horseman has come to our portico. He wishes to see you urgently.'

1681-1686 When the wise minister heard this, he came out of the house in haste. On seeing Aibak he was amazed and embraced him warmly. Then for a while both narrated their stories briefly in front of the door. Later both drove together to the royal court. On arriving there, the virtuous and hospitable wazir made Qutbu'ddin sit in the portico while he himself walked gently into the palace.

1687-1692 On appearing before the king the wazir bowed and uttered *duā*;¹ then he said: 'O king of the whole earth, I have troubled Your Majesty at an odd hour but I have brought good news. Firstly Aibak who is one of Your Majesty's slaves is at the door; secondly the latter—a lucky

¹ *Duā* (literally blessings) is a term commonly used to express good wishes.

man and a veteran warrior—has conquered Ahranwāra. Now he has come to Your Majesty's court in all humiliation and with apologies.'

1693-1694 When the king heard this from the wazīr his enlightened royal mind was delighted, and said, 'Let Aibak come inside the palace immediately.'

1695-1696 The wazīr withdrew from the royal presence and conveyed the king's messages to the ushers and called Malik Qugbu'ddīn inside.

1697-1701 Immediately on seeing His Majesty, Aibak kissed the ground and ran up. Most eagerly he performed the king's *pābos* and then flung the key of the Ahranwāra fortress at the royal feet, saying:

'Besides this present for Your Majesty I have many more presents which I have left with the troops whom I have concealed, O triumphant king, at a distance of three parasangs from here.'

1702-1703 When His Majesty¹ heard this he said:

'O distinguished man of experience! To me you yourself are more pleasing than the presents. Craving for the worldly things is the habit of mean fellows.'

1704 Then His Majesty² ordered three robes of honour for him at one and the same time.

^{1,2} No literal translation of the different Persian phrases like *Shāb-i jābān*, *Khusrav-i kāmrān*, *Shāb-i farkhāndabās* and *Shāb-i nāmwar* will answer the purpose. Since these are, one and all, intended to glorify the king, the corresponding title in English i. e. His Majesty is used to avoid confusion.

Sultān Mu'izzu'ddin conceals Qutbu'ddin Aibak under the throne and summons the schemers who had made allegations against him

1705-1706: I am told that the prudent Aibak stirred not from the king's side that night. The whole night the king and he talked over each other's affairs.

1707-1714 When the day dawned the king ordered Aibak to hide himself beneath the throne. Then early in the morning, he held a levee joyfully from the throne. He summoned those foxy cunning schemers who had made allegations against Aibak and said to them:

'O accursed and wretched people, what do you say regarding Aibak now? You should write a clear pledge in your blood binding yourself on this condition that if Aibak comes here by our order and firman, the bloodshed of each one of you will be permissible and will go unavenged.'

1715-1720 When those schemers heard this from the enlightened king they gave the writing in utter helplessness. Thereupon, the king ordered Aibak to come out from beneath the throne. In compliance with the royal order Aibak came out invoking blessings on, and presenting immense praises to, the king. With a hundred submissions, he placed his head on the ground—a sight which was witnessed by all, left and right. On seeing this the said schemers were confounded and regretted having given their written pledge. Since the pledge staking their lives had been already written, their remorse was of no avail.

1721-1725 However, the king subsequently passed the order saying:

'The blood of these schemers must be shed.' As

that moment, the generous Aibak threw himself at the king's feet in profound submission and said :

'Your gracious Majesty !¹ Let the lives of these people be my prize. Although they have plotted against my life and vexed Your Majesty's heart yet it would be better that you abstain from shedding their blood in view of the fact that you are a world-bestowing and soul-nourishing king.'

1726-1730 When the generous king noticed that Aibak had interceded for them, he spared the lives of those schemers and ordered that they should be exiled from Ghaznī. Then His Majesty said to Aibak: 'O experienced and intelligent hero, mount a horse instantly and ride straight to your camp. To-morrow at sunrise you must come back quickly along with your army.'

1731-1737 Next day before sunrise the king ordered the grandees of the State advance on foot, each with a befitting present for Aibak and show him due respect. After sunrise Aibak reached the capital, his stars being in the highest ascent. All men of distinction under royal orders went on foot to a distance of two parasangs to receive him. When he entered the city, all walked in his train lest they should incur royal displeasure.

1738-1743 When Aibak arrived in the royal precincts and the king heard of his arrival from the court chamberlains, he said :

'Let Aibak, pride of the wise men, come riding in the royal palace. He must not dismount except near the throne in the manner of fortunate kings.'

¹ Same as footnotes, 1, 2 on page 165

1741-1742 On receiving this happy news from the chamberlains, Aibak rode into the palace. He found no escape from the king's order and dismounted when he arrived before His Majesty.

1743-1744 The king stood up to show him respect and Aibak ran immediately towards him. He kissed the king's foot; and the king embraced him and began to scatter gold liberally for him by way of performing *nisār*.¹

1745-1748 Then the king mounted the throne and Aibak sat on a chair. Every now and then the king showed his affection for him and bestowed many favours on him. He ordered the maliks and grandees to put up decorations in honour of Aibak. Sitting together both king and Aibak made merry for a few days.

1749-1751 Then His Majesty ordered Aibak to go back to Hindustān. He gave him many robes of honour and took many a solemn oath saying: 'Even if the whole world joined in one voice to decry Aibak, I would never become suspicious of him again.'

Sultān Mu'izzu'ddīn bin Sām marches for the fourth time to Hindustān and achieves victory against Jai Chand the Rāi of Kanauj

1752-1753 In the year² 590 when spring breezes began to blow and everyone strolled into a garden the king of Ghaznī came into Hindustān.

1754-1756 When Aibak heard that the king had marched his army again upon Hindustān, he took his

¹ That is, the king scattered gold with the object of protecting Aibak from any mishap and also from the effect of evil eye.

² A.D. 1194

troops out of Kuhrām and met the king on the way and performed *pābos*. He submitted to His Majesty all the accounts item by item—military expenditure as well as the revenues of the country.

1757-1769 He placed many presents before the king and received much royal appreciation. Then he said :

'O king, refuge of the world ! I have captured many fortresses in Hindustān and uprooted many a thorn from this garden. But there has still remained an old thorn which has been a hindrance in this garden. That thorn is the accursed Rāi of Kanauj called Jai Chand who possesses an army that has exceeded the limits of calculation. He has elephants like mount Alburz in large numbers and many well-equipped and magnificent armies. From the sea to the boundary of Sind the rajas of Hindustān have girded up their loins in his service. He is superior to all the Hindū Rais and is acknowledged as their head. If that thorn were removed from this garden, the country of Hindustān would become ours. Since the royal standards have arrived here it is fit that the troops should march against him. In this expedition Your Majesty may put me in the vanguard; by your royal grace I shall break his army. Your Majesty may simply watch how quickly Aibak moves in the matter.'

1770-1773 When the king heard this from Aibak he appreciated him and approved of his proposal. The following day, at sunrise, he and the well-meaning Aibak led the troops against Kanauj. When the troops arrived in the confines of Chandwāl,¹ Jai Chand took his army out of Kanauj.

1774-1783 I am told that the upright Aibak used to go one stage ahead of the king. When he—a strategist and a

ceaseless victor in war—reached Chandwāl,¹ he met a Brahman whom he asked to narrate the story of his Rāī and said: Where are the army chieftains? Where is the army? Where is the Rāī of this area and country? The Brahman bowed in profound humiliation and said:

‘O enemy-hunting Turk, the army is at a distance of two *parasangs* from here. For the past two days, the country-conquering Jai Chand has encamped in the open field. A festival is being celebrated in Hindustān; three days of its celebration still remain. The Hindus are holding a fête everywhere and all are immersed in the ocean of joy and pleasure. They are engrossed with drinking to such an extent that not a single man would you find alert.

1784-1791 When Aibak heard this from that Hindū, he summoned all his comrades and said:

‘O chiefs, no one remains in the world for ever, barring him who makes a name in a holy war by laying down his life in battlefield heroically like Rustam. If here and now, you set your hearts on this fight and give me your unrestricted support, we will crush the enemy troops; we will stake our lives in war. We will strip this region of the infidels and remove the thorn from the garden of Hindustān. We will raise the banners of Islām to the polar star like the army of Muṣṭafā. Like heroes we will earn a name by showing magnanimity and will enjoy this world as well as the next.’

1792-1798 I am told when Aibak gave this advice tentatively to the army chieftains, the distinguished Iltutmish,

¹ I. e. Chāndwal which is identified with modern Firozābād on the Jumna between Agra and Etawah.

on behalf of these chieftains, gave a suitable answer to that victorious commander. He was a close confidant of Aibak and a Turk of lucky stars whom Aibak had purchased under the king's¹ order and who had in the presence of the king² wielded the sword valiantly against the *Khokhars*³ and whom the king had given special robes of honour many a time for he had displayed heroism in every

¹ I.e. Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghori. 'Iṣāmī has used the term *sbāhan*-*shāb* and *shāb* indiscriminately for him.

² I.e. Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghori.

³ The *Khokhars*—erroneously identified by Firishta and Elliot with the Ghakkars, inhabitants of regions northward of Multān (T.N.R. vol i, p. 477)—lived primarily in the lower hills of Kashmir. Ibbetson (P.C.D.I p. 172) considers them as an offshoot or caste of a Rājpūt tribe of the Panjāb inhabiting the Sind-sāgar Doāb and some regions north-west of Multān. They are also identified with the Jats. The Khokhars who align themselves neither with the Rajputs nor with Jats are found in Rawalpindī district and Multān division.

On the whole the Khokhers were a warrior tribe sharing the military habits of the Rajputs and Jats. As early as A. D. 1008 they made themselves conspicuous by joining the armies of the Hindū confederacy which had been formed to resist Sultān Mahmūd's invasion of Peshāwar. When the later Ghaznavi kings became weak it was these Khokhars who supported them in their war with Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām. When in 581 Hijra (A.D. 1185) the latter appointed 'Izzu'ddin Husain Kharṣil commandant of the fortress of Siālkot and himself returned to Ghazni, Khusra Malik the Ghaznavid king marched at the head of an army of Khokhars and other kindred warriors on Siālkot and besieged it. But he was unable to take it. T.N.R. vol. i, p. 455.

'Iṣāmī means to say that the Khokhars had presented opposition to Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad on Indian soil; and in this connection recalls the military service rendered by Ilutmish, pro-

battle. He was a Turk whom Aibak had adopted as his son and whom the king¹ had given a writ of manumission. What a wonderful slave he was! He had secured his manumission before that of his master Aibak, through God's grace.

1799-1805 In short, after the victorious Aibak had spoken to his troops and given them a moral discourse at the place where the idolater had met him, Iltutmish the demon-capturer, addressed him saying:

To-day it is we and the field of battle. We shall crush the enemy contingents completely. Like lions we shall not withdraw before the elephants; like experts we shall gird our loins to fight. We shall make an assault on the Rāi of Hindustān and will capture the outskirts of this garden. We will set fire to the infidels' abodes and will exhibit Islām in this country.

1806-1812 When Iltutmish said this to Aibak, Aibak's heart blossomed like a flower; and other chieftains also showed their readiness to stake their lives. As for Aibak he moved his horse from there with the intention of giving battle. Sometimes he galloped and sometimes he trotted till he fell upon the enemy contingents in great fury, attended by his own troops with unsheathed swords. All made an onslaught upon the enemy's ranks and killed many of them.

bably in the course of Mu'izzu'ddin Muhammad's fight with the Khokhars, for, according to Minhāj (*Op. Cit.* p. 483), the Khokhars, combined with other recalcitrant and warlike tribes of the hills to the north of Lāhor, had raised a revolt and Mu'izzu'ddin Muhammad came down from Ghazni to crush their rebellion.

¹ Same as footnote 2 on p. 171.

Not for a moment did the warrior Turks give the Indian ranks respite in that field of battle. They broke them left and right.

1813-1819 I am told that the Indian Rāī vanished in such a manner in the course of battle that hardly could anyone find a trace of him. Perhaps he lay wounded among the slain. Not even one from among the enemies went alive from that place since the Turks pursued them everywhere, killing all, high as well as low, and seizing their entire belongings. Seven hundred and odd number of elephants fell into the hands of the victors. The amount of booty they seized, I am at a loss to estimate. In the night, they encamped in that very place and drank wine to the accompaniment of music.

1820-1823 Next day, the Ghorī king arrived and heard about the victory that Aibak had achieved so expeditiously. He was amazed at his superiority and embraced him amidst a hundred applauses. Then he gave him a special robe of honour and kissed his hand affectionately. He also ordered robes of honour for Iltutmish and other chieftains.

1824-1827 Next day the king said to Aibak :

'O country-conquering chief, since you have distinguished yourself in plundering the enemy, you may raid wherever you please; the booty will be yours. You have crushed the ranks of the Rāī Rāyān of Hindustān. You should entertain no fears of other Indian chiefs. Capture this land and country from end to end; annihilate the accursed infidels'.¹

1828-1833 When the king spoke thus to Aibak, Aibak invoked benedictions and replied:

¹ That is, Jaichand of Kanauj.

'Your Majesty!, What service can I render? What can my hand achieve at the time of battle? I am one of the slaves of Your Majesty. It is your royal favour that has made me commander of the army. It was by the power of Your Majesty that I sprang on the enemy troops and achieved victory. Whatever success I have been able to achieve is but a reflection of the shadow of your banners. As for myself, I do not possess power even to overpower a contingent of ants.'

1834-1836 Afterwards Mu'izzu'ddīn the generous king gave Aibak a special robe and posted him in Hindustān as his viceroy; then he returned to Ghaznī which he reached after some time.

1837 From Ghaznī he did not move for three or four years, I am told.

1838-1839 Later he took the army to Tūs in which region he remained for a year. The region of Sarakhs¹ and the territory of Tūs² became prosperous like a bride by virtue of the justice that he administered.

1840-1842 Every month he made fresh raids in those parts, aided by his good fortune; and overran the area to its extremities, and every expedition of his was attended with the capture of a new city. He put

¹ An old town between Mashhad and Marv, demarcating the frontier between modern Irān and Russia on the lower course of the *Harirūd* or the river of Herāt.

² Tūs was the name of a district in Khurāsān, lying in the upper part of the river of Herāt. It was destroyed in 391 Hijra (A.D. 1389) and on its ruins arose the modern town of Mashhad or Meshed.

the recalcitrants to the rack and gratified the men of religion.

News of the death of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām reaches Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Sām and the kingdom of Ghor is entrusted to Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad Sām

1843-1845 One day, while the king was in high-repose there came a courier from the Ghor country. In utter desperation, he performed the king's *pābos* and produced a letter in black border. Then disregarding the chamberlains, he advanced to the king and handed over to him the letter in tears.

1846-1854 When the king took it from his hands he was dismayed, seeing its borders entirely black. In great anguish, he broke the seal of that letter with his own hands. As he pored over it, his eyes shed tears of blood. When he read the contents through, he tore his garment, heaved a sigh and threw the cap from his head to the ground. Crying, he fell down from the throne and reiterated every moment amidst loud lamentations:

'The strength of the fortune of my high position is broken; destiny has now tied the hands of my prosperity. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn—that king of the world—is no more. There is nothing in the world but mourning now. Without him the throne of Ghor lies vacant. Where is now the wealth and power of the house of Sām? From the world has departed that son of Sām, who was the torchlight of the Sām family.'

1855-1861 In short, the heart of the king of Ghaznī became so afflicted on account of the death of his brother

that for a week he did not show his face to the army. After one week, that magnanimous king took the army to Ghor. He suppressed disorders in that region and gave it to Maḥmūd, son of the deceased king, whom he found fit for the throne and granted him the title of Ghiyāṣ'uddīn and said :

'I have made you ruler over the territory stretching from Bust¹ up to Herāt. Acquit yourself well in this territory and endeavour like your father to administer justice.'

1862-1864 Afterwards, he bestowed on Nāṣiru'ddīn Saljūk (*saljūq*), who was his sister's son and in whose forehead he read a promise of future greatness, the territory of Hirāt. Then His Majesty returned from the *īqṭā'* of Ghor to Ghaznī.

Story of dismissal of Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī from Ghaznī; his proceeding towards India and capturing the territory of Lakhnautī

1865-1867 I have heard from the Indian historians that when after his triumphant Indian expeditions, the king of Ghaznī went back to his capital, he ordered that the army be reviewed and a parasol be raised in an open field.

1868-1871 Tāju'ddīn Yalduz, the adopted son of His Majesty and paymaster of the royal army, carried out the royal order. He arranged things in such a manner that all the officers and ranks might be reviewed in the course of one day. From dawn till the 'asr² prayer, the royal contingents were reviewed completely.

¹ A old town of pre-Islamic Iran which stood on the left bank of the Helmand in Sistān.

² That is, four to five o'clock in the afternoon.

1872-1873 The review over, Yalduz, destroyer of the base, ordered all the registers to be closed.

1874-1878 After the registers had been closed, there came an officer, namely the stubborn Muḥammad Bakhtyār, hero of the Khaljī tribe. His case was then reported to Yalduz in these words : 'An army officer has arrived late after the registers have been closed everywhere. What is your opinion of this man, exalted chief? Must we re-open some registers for his sake?'

1879-1881 When Yalduz heard this he was annoyed to such an extent that his face blushed, and he blurted out : 'Such a man, who does not co-operate with my army even in the review, must be dismissed and his name struck off the registers immediately.'

1882-1890 I am told that the clerks cancelled his name forthwith under order of the dignified ruler.¹ This done, that adventurous chieftain left Ghīznī the same day, together with his attendants and journeyed over to Hindustān. When he came into this garden he—that hero of pure faith—wanted to proceed to Chittor in order to serve under Rāi Jai Singh and later to become ruler of that fortress by trickery. Ultimately his mind changed. He gave up that foolish idea and resolved upon a better and sounder plan. Suddenly, he dashed his horse from Chittor and advanced right in the direction of the country of Gaur. Then like a flash he advanced into the outskirts of Lakhnautī in order to lay hands on it.

1891-1894 I am told that Muḥammad entered that region in the guise of merchants who wander about the

¹ Literally 'prince'.

world from end to end. This news was conveyed to Lakhmiya and he was told that a merchant from Sīstān had brought much precious merchandise—many horses from Tartary and China silk and rare commodities—from all parts of the world.

1895-1897 Immediately as Lakhmiya,¹ who was the ruler of all those regions, heard this he rode out of his palace in order to buy some thing of every country. He did not know that this amorous world had secretly designed to play another game.

1898-1901 In short, when the Rāī came out of the palace, he advanced towards the caravan. When he reached the caravan, Muhammad ranged before him many precious things. But he had previously made a plot and accordingly beckoned to his comrades so that they might draw closer from all sides and make a target of the Rāī's men.

1902-1907 As soon as the Turks laid their hands on the Rāī's men, the Rāī's troops faltered and were defeated. —However, some of them stood by the Rāī; and,

¹ I.e. Lakshman of the Sen dynasty then an old man, living in his capital Nadiya—a town situated at the head of the Gangetic delta. In 1202/598 Ikhtiyāru'ddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī marched, proceeding from Bihar into Nadiya with an escort of eighteen horsemen only. They passed as horse dealers right into the town until they reached the Raja's palace. There, by means of a *coup d'état*, they took possession of everything valuable; and Raja Lakshman Sen who was then engaged in taking meals, left the palace by the backdoor which opened on the river. He took the boat for Vikrampur, near Sonārgāon eight miles south-east of Dacca. Ikhtiyāru'ddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī proceeded to Gaur (Lakhnauti) where he had the *khutba* read in the name of Mu'izzu'ddin Muhammad Ghori.

ranging themselves around him, they fought against the dreadful Turks. For a while they grappled with the enemy and put up a stiff resistance. But in the end, the brave warriors of the Khaljī tribe made a powerful windlike attack; and after they had killed those few Hindū cavalry-men, the Rāi fell a prisoner into the hands of Bakhtyār. Muhammad became king in that region with a separate capital for his dominion.

1908-1909 I am told that, from Lakhnautī to China, that man of faith made Islām known¹. Aided by his good fortune and the strength of Islām, he captured many crowns and thrones.

1910-1914 Whoever is aided by good luck, God grants him success in the world; and he who has opened the eyes of his mind pays no heed to worldly affairs. Since he attains the perfection of intellect, he becomes a conspicuous man of accomplishments so much so, that, when he touches the earth it turns into gold and every-

¹ This is a reference to the fact that Ikhtiyāruddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī carried his arms beyond the Himalayas. He established Muslim power among the Mongol tribes of Koch, Mech and Kacheri. It appears that some of them became converts. One of these 'Alī the Mech by name took Ikhtiyāruddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī into the Tibet which the latter attempted to cross. But he failed and retreated from an unknown stage in his expedition. The raja of Kamrup with whom he had previously made a treaty betrayed him and fell on his retreating army, throwing many of them into the river. Ikhtiyāruddin bin Bakhtyār Khaljī managed, on crossing the river, to reach Lakhnautī but died, shortly after, overwhelmed with shame. This took place in 602 H (A.D. 1106). It is also said that he was murdered by a Khaljī soldier, 'Alī Mardān by name.

thing becomes available to him. He can always snare the bird of prosperity and can ever walk steadily in the field of attainment.

1915-1921 Come and let us walk care-free and unreservedly like religious men into this cavern and let us burn completely every worldly thing that we possess. Let us be content with a *ṣūfi* garment, and that is all. We should walk into this path freely like a *qallāsh*¹ so that we might be relieved of the worries of the world. We should eat what we have got and have no worries. In this manner we shall pluck the fruit of the world's garden. Every morning we should walk in this garden for pleasure in the manner of drunkards. As soon as we become entranced by the charming sight of this garden and happy like a blooming flower of the morning we should consider that this is the only time for enjoyment, because the sky and the earth are always planning to destroy us.

1922-1923 Come, O cup-bearer, serve us with a round of cups from the wine of mystery, which might reduce the earth to a drop and the sky to a bowl. Give us such a wine that from its very first cup the difference between the sky and earth might disappear for us.

Sultān Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad-i Sām marches towards Khwārizm and Balkh; and while returning diverts to the outlying parts of India and is martyred

1924-1927 I am told that Mu'izzu'ddīn, son of Sām was enjoying himself in the *iqṭā'* of Ghaznī when in the

¹ *Qallāsh* stands for a *qalandar*—a care-free person—with shaven head who abandons everything even the family, friends and possessions, and wanders in the world in search of Truth.

year¹ 601, he again mobilized an army from Ghaznī. He went to Khwārizm and returned quickly. Three or four months after this, he led an army from Ghaznī to Balkh and shed the blood of many an infidel Turk.

1928-1932 I am told that he killed many of them in battle and the survivors made peace at last. From there he went to Hindustān; and from its farthest frontier he turned back with his troops towards Ghaznī. When he arrived at the ominous Damīk² station a heretic (*mulhīd*)³ suddenly struck a sword on his head during reception time. So mortal a wound was inflicted on him that he departed for the garden of paradise.

¹ A.D. 1204

² This was *Dam-yak* or *Damīk*. It lay on the bank of the Indus; and Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghorī was murdered here by a *mulhīd*, T.N.R. p. 485 and T.N.B.I, p. 124.

³ Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghorī's footsteps were being dogged by some heretics (*mulāhīd*); and he was assassinated in the course of his *maghrib* prayer by a group of them. Cf. *Tājus'l Ma'āsir* (Ms., A.S. No. 110, p. 439). It is also said that the assassins were Khokhars, for the Khokhars too might be called *mulāhīd* or *malāhīd* (T.N.R. p. 106). The term *mulhīd*, *mulāhīd* or *malāhīd* was then used for the Qaramita heretics and the Fidais of the Bāginya Ismā'ilia sect. The Qaramitas were the mortal enemies of Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām who had been at war with them. He had driven them out of Multān in 571 Hijra (A.D. 1171) and out of Khurāsān in 575 Hijra (A.D. 1175).

Firishta holds a group of twenty Ghakkars responsible for the murder of Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad bin Sām. It is said that one of them assaulted and killed the gate-keeper and the remaining nineteen cut open the royal tent and fell on the Sūltān and tortured him to death, inflicting on him twenty-two wounds in succession (T.F. vol. i, p. 196).

Hodivala contends that Firishta misunderstood the 'Khokhar'

1933 He ruled over Ghaznī for thirty-two years and a whole world¹ was trampled by his army.

1934 The seven climates sang his praises; the whole of Hindustān became the home of Islām through him.

1935 Verily, he was a king, gentle and forbearing, possessing solid power and healthy ambition.

1936 He owned two thousand fierce elephants and spent the whole of his life in fighting.

1937-1938 One day, I am told, the said king enquired of his pious treasurer saying: 'Tell me how much hoard and pearls you have in the treasury.'

1939-1943 The treasurer who bore the name of Ismā'il said in reply:

'Your Majesty, the amount of hard cash is beyond calculation. One day, I weighed the diamonds which were of greater value than every other kind of jewels: their weight amounted to 1,500 maunds, let alone the gold and fine royal jewels. Now, O jewel-discriminating emperor, you may form an estimate of other kinds of wealth'.

Fidā'i mentioned in the *Nuskhā-i Jabān Ārā* of Qāzī Ahmād Ghaffārī written in 972 Hijra (A.D. 1562) and replaced it by 'Ghakkār' S.I.M.H. vol. i, p. 184.

1 Making some allowance for 'Iṣāmī's poetic exaggeration it may be said that Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghori's Indian conquests included Multān, Uch, Lahore (*Lābor*), Peshāwar (*Purshor*), Sjālkot, Ajmer, Hansi, Sursutī, Kuhrām, Mirath, Kol, Dehlī, Biāna (*Thankīr*), Budāūn, Kanauj (*Kinnauj*), Kālinjar, Awadh, Mālwa, parts of Bihar and Lakhnautī.

Outside India his conquests were—Marv, Nishāpūr, Tūs, Bāward, Nisā, Shāristānah, Sabzwār, Janābād, Khwārizm, Andkhūd and Koh-i Jūd. T.N.R. p. 491.

1944-1945 After all, though he captured a world and performed many a marvellous deed, he too departed from this world. While dying, not a farthing (*jaū*) had he in his hands.

1946-1948 In the course of the year¹ 602 he journeyed back from this mundane earth. From the world he took nothing with him except a good name. One, who dies such a death, is not dead. It appears that on departing from this banqueting-house, he joined a pleasure-party in another garden (paradise).

1949 Wherever there is a man of piety, the world cherishes his memory at dawn.

1950-51 Come, O cup-bearer, pour into my cup the wine, which has been sifted through the aromatic wind of musk-pod at a time when intelligent men prefer to attain the state of intoxication in an abode of tulips.

COMMENTARY

The opening verses in this chapter hold up to view a weak executive and an enervated monarchy resting on the army chiefs and subject to the diseases inherent in personal despotism.

In the foreground are seen two of Sultān Maḥmūd's sons¹ Mas'ūd and Muḥammad, both at loggerheads. Baihaqī² tells us that Mas'ūd was the elder brother and had been appointed heir-apparent³ in 406/1016. Later he was

¹ Sultān Maḥmūd had seven sons, namely Mas'ūd, Muḥammad, Sulaimān, Ismā'il, Naṣr, Ibrāhīm and 'Abdu'r-Rashid. While five of these had died during the lifetime of Maḥmūd, two survived him, namely Mas'ūd and Muḥammad. There is a general misunderstanding that Mas'ūd was younger and Muḥammad was the elder brother (Cf. Iqbal, A.D.—*Wizārat-ī Farhang, Tārikh*, Teheran 1324 S.H. p. 88).

² Abul Fazl Muḥammad commonly known as Baihaqī was a Persian historian of the 5th/11th century. He was born in 385/995 in the district of Baihaq, now called Sabzwār in Khorāsān. Educated at the *jāmi'a* (university) of Nishāpūr, he entered royal service at the court of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī while yet in his teens and continued in service through five successive reigns. He incurred royal displeasure during the reign of 'Abdu'r-Rashid, grandson of Sultān Maḥmūd and was imprisoned. After the death of 'Abdu'r-Rashid when he was released, he did not resume the royal service. He took to writing history and produced a voluminous history of the royal Ghaznavī dynasty in thirty volumes. He died in 470/1077. E.I. vol. i. p. 1130.

³ T.B.A., p. 17

superseded¹ by his younger brother Muḥammad whose name was inserted in the *khutba* under orders of Sultān Maḥmūd. And Mas'ūd was sent away to Isfahān² lest, on being present in the capital he should create trouble at any critical moment. But he won the favour of the army chiefs; and with their support obtained the throne after a fight in which Muḥammad was defeated, captured and thrown as a prisoner into a fort in the province of Tukhāristān, east of Balkh.

Baihaqī who is a contemporary authority for the reign of Mas'ūd, also tells us that *Khwāja Ḥasan Maimandī*³ who had been imprisoned by Sultān Maḥmūd was released by Mas'ūd; and the latter appointed him wazīr. His wrath, however, fell on the ex-wazir Ḥasank who was suspected of disloyalty. And, on the plea that he had poisoned the mind of Sultān Maḥmūd, Mas'ūd had him stoned to death; and his dead body, stuck at the gibbet, was held up to public view for seven years.⁴

It follows that the empire of *Ghaznī* now lost that integrity and vigour which had characterized it under Maḥmūd. And 'Iṣāmī enables us to see how it was ripped up by the Saljuqs, and how it was set upon by the *Ghuzz* from the north and by the *Ghoris* from the south. The Saljuqs who had started making encroachments during the lifetime of Maḥmūd became stronger after his death and made

1 Minhāj says that Sultān Maḥmūd was envious of Mas'ūd and treated him with harshness and severity T.N.R., p. 91

2 Minhāj says: 'When Maḥmūd subdued 'Irāq 'Ajām he bestowed the throne of that territory upon Mas'ūd and later appointed him governor of Isfahān. *Op. cit.*, p. 33

3 T.B.A., pp. 169-178

4 *Op. cit.*, 207-218

frequent inroads into different parts of the empire, at one moment Balkh, at another Marv and at another still Herāt and Nishāpūr. Finally they inflicted a crushing defeat on Mas'ūd at Dandāqān¹ in the year 422/1040 and seized some territories including a part of Khurāsān. The successors of Mas'ūd took to propitiating the Saljuqs. Sultān Ibrāhīm married his son 'Alā'u'ddaula Mas'ūd III to the daughter of Malik Shāh Saljūqī. In spite of this, Malik Shāh's son Sanjar Saljūqi carried fire and sword into Ghaznī and also occupied Ghor. Ārsalān, a son of 'Alā'u'ddaulā Mas'ūd III, accepted defeat and retired to Lāhor. His brother Bahrām Shāh was favoured by Sanjar who enabled him to recover the throne of Ghaznī. But the Ghīznāvī monarchy now became a dependency of the Saljūq empire; and Sultān Sanjar had his own name engraved on the coins of Ghaznī. However, Sanjar was the last powerful Saljūq emperor. With his death in 552/1157 began the disintegration of his vast empire which had embraced Turkistān, Transoxiana, Khurāsān, 'Irāq 'Ajam and Asia Minor. On its ashes arose new Turkish groups and dynasties—the Atabeks of 'Irāq, Āzarbāījān and Hamadān, the Qarakhatais of Turkistān, the Qarluqs of Transoxiana, the Khvarizm-Shahis of Khīva, the Ghuzz of Balkh and the Shansabanis of Ghor. Fighting commenced among all these, each trying to drown the other. But the Ghuzz of Balkh, the Khwārizm-Shahis of Khīva and the Shansabanis of Ghor set their hearts on seizing the few territories that had still remained under the nominal rule of the successors of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī.

The Ghuzz who had been akin to the Saljuqs and

¹ Dandāqān was an important town south-west of Marv on the road to Sarakhs.

brother Sultān Shāh quarrelled with him and a civil war broke out. At last Sultān Shāh went to Ghor soliciting help from Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām in order to capture Khurāsān. The latter gave no help. Sultān Shāh, disgruntled, went to Turkistān where he allied himself with the Qira-khitais. With their help he was able to secure a part of Khurāsān comprising Marv, Sarakhs, Tūs and Nishāpūr. Thus his ambition was spurred; and having secured a new ally in Bahā'u'ddīn Tughrīl, the Ṣaljūqī governor of Herāt, he marched upon Ghor and fought a battle near the river Marv with Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām in 586/1190. The latter who was assisted in this battle by his brother Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī and his kinsmen and vassals—Shamsu'ddīn Muḥammad governor of Bāmiān and Tāju'ddīn Ḥarab governor of Sīstān and Quṭbu'ddīn Aibāk¹—defeated Sultān Shāh. Sultān Shāh fled in the direction of Marv but his ally Bahā'u'ddīn Tughrīl of Herāt was captured and killed, and his head was presented to Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām at Fīroz Koh. In this manner Herāt was annexed to the Shansabānia empire in

from central Irān and partly from those of western Irān of that age. They called it 'Irāq 'Ajam in order to distinguish it from Mesopotamia—the land between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates—which was called 'Iraq 'Arab; and the same is 'Irāq proper in modern geography.

The term 'Irāq 'Ajam continued to be used till the inauguration of the Iranian constitution in 1324 Hijra. Then the old names of the provinces of Irān were replaced by the significant term *ostān*; and as a corollary to this the old name 'Irāq 'Ajam fell into disuse.

¹ It is stated that Quṭbu'ddīn Aibāk was then employed as a steward of the royal stable at Ghaznī. But the statement has not been confirmed.

Ghuzz¹ presented a strong opposition. Of these two enemies the Khwārizm-Shahis proved more venomous. It is true that Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām who aspired to emulate the great Saljūq emperors and had planned a Shansabānia empire of Ghor conquered many territories of the Ghuzz as well as those of the Khwārizm-Shahis. But while the Ghuzz snake had spent its venom consuming itself during his lifetime the Khwārizm-Shāhī snake continued exhaling its venom even after it had stung Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām, as is shown below.

It should be remembered that II-Arsalān of Khwārizm had left behind two sons Takish (568/1162-596/1199) and Sulṭān Shāh (567/1171-589/1199) who were rivals and close contestants for supremacy. Takish who was elder took forcible possession of the Saljuqī territory of Khurāsān, Hamādān, Isfahān and Raiy as well as of Irāk.² His younger

brothers from the later Khwārizm-Shahis see the succeeding paragraphs in the body of this commentary.

1 Regarding the strong opposition of the Ghuzz it should be noted that ‘Alāu’ddīn Jahāñsōz of the Shansabānia house of Ghor who had conquered many territories of the Saljuqs—Herāt, Balkh and Tūlak and the region between the Helmund and Hari-Rud rivers comprising Bāmīān, Tukhāristān, Jarum, Bust, and Gharjistān—was defeated by the Ghuzz and lost to them Herāt, Balkh and Tukhāristān. In 557/1161 he was succeeded by his son Saifu’ddīn Muḥammad who recovered Herāt from the Ghuzz but died (558/1162) while advancing against them in the direction of Balkh. Considering this a good omen the Ghuzz made a dash for Ghaznī which they seized in the same year.

2 Irāk—modern equivalent of Irāq ‘Ajām—was the name of a political division of Irān coined by the geographers of the eighth century Hijra. That division comprised territories taken partly

586/1190 though according to another account, reproduced by Raverty,¹ it was in 571/1175 (fifteen years before the battle of Marv) that Herāt had become part of the Shansabānia empire, the amirs of Herāt having voluntarily offered submission to the said Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām who conferred the government of Herāt on his vassal Malik Shamsu'ddīn with the title of Sultān and the privilege of keeping *chatr*. Sultān Shāh died in 589/1191 and his possessions were immediately occupied by his brother Takīsh who was a bitter enemy of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor.

Takīsh was still master of the whole of Khurāsān and also exercised sway over Irāk. He was extremely jealous of his supreme position and sovereignty and would not allow his Ghorī contestants to make headway. A favourable opportunity presented itself to the latter when Takīsh died in 596/1200 and a civil war broke out between his son 'Alā'u'ddīn and grandson Hindū Khān. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor marched his army readily into Khurāsān and seized the territories of Nishāpūr, Sarakhs and Tūs; and his troops advanced into Jurjān, Bistām and Kohistān. All these territories were annexed to the growing Shansabānia empire.

Takīsh was succeeded on the throne of Khwārizm by his son Sultān Qutbu'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh who resumed war

¹ Raverty reproduces this from Faṣīḥī. He also points out that Minhāj has at another place given 571 H. as the year in which Herāt was taken by the Ghor chief. If so, it would follow that the Ghoris could not hold Herāt for long. Perhaps Bahā'u'ddīn Tughril seized it from them. In that case alone the date 586/1190 can be taken as correct. T.N.R., p. 279.

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with the Shansabānia empire and recaptured Tūs, Nishāpūr and Herāt. Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām of Ghor retaliated carrying fire and sword to the region of Tūs and Sarakhs; and successfully recovered Herāt. He was about to recover the rest of Khurāsān when he was suddenly claimed by the Angel of Death (599/1202). His younger brother Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī who ascended the throne immediately had a short reign of four years. He was murdered in 602/1206 and was succeeded by his nephew Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd, son of the deceased Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad. Under him the Shansabānia empire whose embryonic lustre had spread for a few years from the Indus westward to the boundary of 'Irāq 'Ajam and from the river Oxus to Hormuz on the Persian Gulf dwindled into a small kingdom under Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Maḥmūd, son and successor of the great Ghiyāṣu'ddīn Muḥammad. He had under his rule little beyond Ghor, Ghaznī and a little part of Khurāsān and Hindustān; and his reign was short. That is, five years after his accession he was killed by his own amirs. His son Bahā'u'ddīn who was then fourteen years old had hardly settled on the throne when he was attacked by his grand uncle 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz son of 'Alā'u'ddīn *Jahāñsōz* of Ghor. The invader 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz who was in the service of Sulgān Muḥammad Quṭbu'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh then conquered Fīroz Koh. The young sultān (Bahā'u'ddīn) fled to Herāt where he was captured and ultimately drowned into a river (607/1210). 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz who was the last heir of the Shansabānia house ruled as king of Ghor for four years only. He was set upon by Tāju'ddīn Yalduz, the claimant of Ghaznī and in the course of a battle that followed he was killed (611/1214).

Such was the end of the still-born Shansabāniā empire. Nine years before the death of 'Alā'u'ddīn Atsiz¹ had ended the career of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī. He was killed at Dāmīk on the bank of the Indus as reported by 'Isāmī. He left behind no male heirs. But he possessed tremendous energy and resoluteness which he imparted to his *mamluks*—Qutbu'ddīn Aibak, Tāju'ddīn Yalduz, Nāṣiru'ddīn Qabācha, Ikhtiyārū'ddīn Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī and Iltutmish. They are said to have established Muslim rule in India. But the credit must go to their master whom Edward Thomas depicts as 'founder of the Pathan dynasty of Dehlī'². While it is a fact that there was no Pathan dynasty of Dehlī, Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām commonly known as Muḥammad Ghorī was the *de facto* founder of the first Turkish empire of Dehlī.

He had received a bitter legacy from his deceased brother and stood after his death watching the still birth of the Shansabāniā empire. He marched his army to Gurganj, the Khwārizm-Shāhī capital, and laid siege to it but had to withdraw before his Khwārizm-Shāhī enemy Qutbu'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh³ who had secured the help of his Qirā-khitāi suzerain as well as that of his vassals, the Maliks and Khans of Transoxiana. Their Tartar or *Turkmānī* troops pursued Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad bin Sām; and while he was still retreating with his scanty

¹ Raverty reads it as *utsuz* T.N.R. p. 415

² C.P.K.D. p. 20

³ Sir Wolseley Haig gives 'Alā'u'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh instead. But 'Alā'u'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh had died in 596/1199, four years before the battle of Andkhūd. cf. C.H.I. III, p. 43. 'Alā'u'ddīn Khwārizm Shāh is also called Takish. see p. *infra*.

cavalry he was surrounded at Andkhūd¹ south of Samarqand and was completely routed in the year 601/1204. As a result, he lost all parts of Khurāsān to his Khwārizm-Shāhī conqueror; and his prestige in India was shaken and his reputation for invincibility vanished. Still he did not lose courage; and on being allowed to retain possession of Herāt and Balkh he made an alliance with Qutbu'ddīn, the self-same Khwārizm-Shāhī king, in the hope of fighting out the issue with his more dangerous enemies, the Qirā-khitāī Turks. He was able to capture Tirmidh from them and planned a large-scale fight with the object of capturing Transoxiana when he heard of a serious rising in the Panjab and was compelled to leave for India. Before his departure he gave instructions to the vassal governor of Bamiān to continue making preparations for the war that he had announced and would resume on his return from India. He was not destined to return.

İşāmī tells us that six years after ascending the throne of Ghaznī Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī marched his army into India. In Nahrwālāh he fought a battle in 576/1179 with Jai Chand of Kanauj. The latter marched at the head of a large army, collected from different parts of Hindustān to Gujarāt; and fought a battle which he won. Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī who suffered a defeat returned to Ghaznī in the hope of collecting a powerful army and retrieving his honour. But there was no encounter at all of Jai Chand of Kanauj and Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī in Nahrwālāh. The battle of Chandwāl which 'İşāmī has noticed was the

only battle that took place between the two in 591/1194, not earlier. Naharwāla had been invaded sixteen years before (574/1178); and the Ghorī troops marching by way of Multān, Uch and the Indian desert had encountered the Rajput army, headed by the Vaghela raja of Gujarāt near Mt. Ābū. The Ghorī troops were defeated; and Muḥammad Ghorī returned to Ghaznī. Then he changed his course of action and decided, instead of proceeding against the hostile Hindū chiefs, to conquer and annex the Muslim dominion of the Panjab. He had already annexed Multān (571/1175). Now, he took Peshāwar in 575/1179; Siālkot in 581/1185 and Lāhor in 582/1186. Five years after this he marched upon Bhatinda which was a Chauhān stronghold; and he occupied it in 587/1191. In the fortress of Bhatinda he stationed a garrison of twelve thousand horses under the charge of a Turkish officer Ziyā'u'ddīn Tūlakī. Then he started on his return journey to Ghaznī. But hardly had he proceeded in that direction when he heard of Prithvirāja's approach and his readiness to recover Bhatinda. Immediately Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad turned right round and fought with the latter the battle of Tarāīn. He was wounded in the arm and taken away from the battlefield by a Khaljī soldier. He went back to Ghaznī via Lāhor where he stopped until his wound was healed.

On his return to Ghaznī he was consoled by his mother. He pulled himself together and resolved to march upon India again. He collected a large army of one lakh and thirty thousand cavalrymen (one lakh and twenty thousand as reported by *Minhāj*)—the choicest embodiment of the Turkish warrior race. Amidst them were Khirbak, Khirmīl, Albah, Yaldūz, Qabācha and Makalbah, each commanding

a contingent of mounted soldiers. On their arrival in India they were joined by Iltutmish and his master Qutbu'ddīn Aibak who had trained the horses of the royal army so well that in the thick of fight they dashed fearlessly against the elephants of Pithora's army and dismayed them. He also organized some mobile columns of warriors on horseback who moved speedily on the battlefield from flank to flank of the Ghorī army throwing their weight in the scale, wherever needed. At last, Prithviraja was defeated and fled. He was captured near the river Sarsuti and killed. His brother Govinda Rāi who had wounded Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī in the previous battle was slain.

This was a decisive victory of the Ghorī army and enabled the victor to claim mastery of Hindustān, though his immediate territorial acquisitions were Ajmer, Hānsī, Kuhrām and Sarsutī. For the time being Ajmer was allowed to remain under the rule of Prithviraja's son Gola; and similarly Dehlī, when it was subsequently conquered by Qutbu'ddīn Aibak, was left under the rule of Govinda Rāi's heir, the Hindū chiefs in both cases acknowledging the suzerainty of Ghor. Then leaving garrisons and armies of occupation at the places of new conquests and particularly at Kuhrām which was a military centre and making Qutbu'ddīn Aibak his viceroy in Hindustān, Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī returned to Ghaznī.

He came back in 590/1194 to fight a battle with Jai Chand of Kanauj and Banaras who had resolved to recover the territories which had been recently conquered and was marching ahead with a large army.¹ A battle was fought

at Chandwār ('Isāmī has Chandwāl), identified with modern Firozābād on the Jamuna. Jai Chand was killed in the course of fight; and Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī achieved a decisive victory which enabled him to extend his Indian empire up to the borders of Bihar. The Monghyr, Banaras and Asnī outposts on the western extremity of the Gangetic Doab were then garrisoned and placed under the charge of a *muqtī* Husāmu'ddīn by name; and Kanauj too was occupied.

After an interval of one year (591/1194) which Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī spent at Ghaznī and his viceroy Qutbū'ddīn Aibak passed in subduing revolts at Koil and Ajmer, war in Hindustān was resumed. In the opening months of 592/1195 Muḥammad Ghorī came back to fight out the issue with the Bhatti Rajputs and their leader Kumāra Pala of Thangīr (Biāna) who were still defiant. From the fortress of Thangīr which was occupied without much difficulty he advanced to Gwālior which was ruled by Sallakshana Pala of the Parihar dynasty. The latter made peace with Muḥammad Ghorī who withdrew, leaving Gwālior as well as Thangīr under the administrative charge of one Bahā'u'ddīn Tughrīl.

The episode of Gwālior is depicted by 'Isāmī colourfully and in a florid and musical style. In the true spirit of a rhapsode and epic writer he weaves his narrative without a date and without any sequence into a romance bringing into the picture an army of beautiful girls, headed by the raja's daughter at whose request Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghorī is reported to have agreed to the restoration of Gwālior to the raja provided the temples in Gwālior were demolished and a mosque erected. This is a baseless and

palpably absurd story of sacrilege. 'Iṣāmī's mistake leaps to the eye when it is recalled that the episode of Gwālior is inserted in his *Shāh Nāmāh* immediately after the second battle of Tarāīn. A similar mistake is noticeable in the episode of Ahranwāṣa which lay on the highway of Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghori's return journey to Ghaznī though 'Iṣāmī describes it frankly as a clear defeat of the Turks (verses 1606-1611).

Then follow a few verses in the *Shāh Nāmāh* stressing the unswerving loyalty of Qutbu'ddīn Aibak and his adoration of his royal master Mu'izzu'ddīn Muḥammad Ghori who called him to Ghaznī ostensibly with the object of testing him. This took place probably in the course of 590/1194, a little before Muḥammad Ghori's fight with Jai Chand of Kanauj. And, most probably the object of Qutbu'ddīn Aibak's visit to Ghaznī was to help his master mature the plans of the impending fight with Jai Chand of Kanauj.

'Iṣāmī leaves undated his narrative of the death of Ghiyāṣu'ddīn bin Sām which he places in the order of events after the battle of Chandwār and Mu'izzu'ddin Muḥammad Ghori's return to Ghaznī. And he takes no notice of Qutbu'ddīn Aibak's conquest of Kālinjar which is mentioned by Hasan Nizāmī¹ and is confirmed by Cunningham² who says that Kālinjar was attacked twice—in 1196/593 and again in 1202/599. It appears that the Chandellas who held Kālinjar as well as Mahoba and Khajurāho were defeated and the whole region which is depicted by 'Iṣāmī as Katchr was occupied.

¹ H.N. Tj f. 185b

² C.R. ii, p. 456

Interesting and by no means void of historical value is 'Isāmī's story of Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khalji. He introduces him as an officer of Muḥammad Ghori's army serving in a division under the personal command of Tāju'ddīn Yalduz. He was dismissed from the army roll for some fault of his. On being relieved of his military command he came from Ghaznī to India and wanted to accept service under Rāi Jai Singh of Chittor. But Fate directed his steps in the direction of Gaur. 'Isāmī gives no information about the route of his journey and knocks out some important details which can be had from a synthetic study of Minhāj, Raverty and Cunningham. It appears that Ikhtiyāru'ddin Muḥammad bin Bakhtyār Khaljī went primarily to the Magadh region, east of the Karamansa river with a band of two hundred mounted soldiers whom he had collected on his own account. With their help he captured the monastic town of Uddandapurdesa¹ (*bīṣār qala-i Bihār* according to Minhāj).² He erected a commemoration fort on the site of Uddandapurdesa; and, flushed with success, he advanced to Nalanda which he captured in 600/1203. At this stage he is said to have journeyed to Dehlī and met Qubu'ddin Aibak who charged him with the mission of further conquest. Thus armed with confidence the young conqueror proceeded in 601/1204 towards Gaur or Lakhnautī. Marching through the Jharkhand region in south Bihar he dashed with a small armed escort of eighteen horsemen into Nadia, royal residence of the Pal raja, Lakshmana Sena ('Isāmī calls him

¹ C.R. iii. p. 118 and viii, p. 75

² T.N.B.I. p. 147

Lakhmiya). Being thoroughly unprepared the raja decided upon flight. He fled by a back door of his palace; and Nadia was immediately occupied by that strange aggressor who according to 'Isāmī was disguised as a merchant. However, he left Nadia for certain reasons and came over to the region of Sankakot (now in East Bengal). There he died but his successors continued there as rulers for about three generations.

Ikhtiyāru'ddīn bin Muḥammad Bakhtyār Khaljī's attempt to conquer Tibet and China is considered by 'Isāmī as an evidence of his disseminating Islām from Lakhnautī to China. But he did nothing of the kind. He failed completely in his projected campaign which brought destruction upon his army and made him die an untimely death. He was sinking to death afflicted by untold depression and grief when, it is said, he was stabbed by one 'Alī Mardān—a soldier of his own escort.¹

Successors of Sultan Maḥmūd with the Duration of Their Reigns and in the Order Mentioned by 'Isāmī

Sultān	Maḥmūd
(v) Abdu'r-Rashid 439-441 / 1048-1050	Ibrāhīm Ismā'il
(vi) Tughril 441 / 1050 forty days	Nāṣr (Sultān Nāṣiru'ddin) 421-430 / 1030-1039
	(ii) Maṣ'ūd I (viii) Ibrāhīm 421-430 / 1030-1039 (killed in battle)
	(i) Muḥammad (a) 421 / 1030 (b) 430 / 1039
(Mas'ūd II) 430-440 / 1039-1048	(iii) Maṣ'ūd 430-440 / 1039-1048
	(vii) Farrukh 442-449 / 1050-1057
	(viii) Ibrāhīm 451-492 / 1059-1099
	(iv) Muḥammad II and 'Alī joint rulers for two months only 440 / 1048
(x) Arsalān 507-510 / 1114-1116	(ix) Maṣ'ūd II ('Alā'u'ddawal + Maḥdī 'Irāq Saljūqī sister of Sanjar Saljūqī)
	(xi) Bahrām Shāh 510-552 / 1116-1157
	(xii) Malik Khusrau or Khusrau Shāh 552-569 / 1157-1174
	Daulat Shāh (killed in battle with Ghoris)
	(xiii) Khusrau Malik 561-584 / 1174-1188 Bahrām Shāh.

‘Iṣāmī has not mentioned the sons of Maḥmūd in right order (verses 1174-1177); nor has he mentioned Sherzād whom Firishta¹ has noted as a king after Maṣūd III. Firishta says that he borrowed this piece of information from the *Tārikh-i Gazīdah*. But other histories make no mention of Sherzād who was murdered after a year of his accession by his brother Arsalān.

‘Iṣāmī seems to have borrowed his information about the successors of Sultān Maḥmūd and their order of succession from the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*.² Similar information is also given by Nizāmu’ddīn Ahmad Bakhshī.³

Firishta mentions that Maṣūd II—a four-year-old son of Maudūd—was installed on the throne after the death of Maudūd but was deposed in the course of a week.⁴ ‘Iṣāmī takes no notice of this Maṣūd. So, according to him, there was no Maṣūd III; he has omitted Maṣūd II, shown above within brackets. He has again drawn upon the *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī* which tells a similar tale.⁵

1 T. F. vol. i, p. 85.

2 T. N. B. I. pp. 11-26.

3 T. A. B. I., pp. 19-35.

4 T. F. vol. i, p. 80.

5 Cf. T. N. B. I. p. 16.

APPENDIX A

POWER OF GOD (VERSES 1-9)

The spirit behind these couplets (1-9) illustrating the power of God is that of the following Quranic verses—

i, 2; vi, 164; ii, 21-22; ii, 257; iii, 150; xxii, 78; vi, 61; iv, 45; xl, 51, iii, 54; iii, 179; x, 109; xcii, 13; vi, 95-99; vi, 122; xvii, 60; ii, 186; i, 16; xxxix, 3. 11; xl, 14.

These verses reveal God as cherisher, protector, helper, sustainer and the best of planners and dispensers of justice. 'Iṣāmī stresses the importance of *Bismillāh*—a well-known headline of every *surah* in the Quran. *Bismillāh* which literally means 'by the name of God' is used ceremonially by every Muslim on undertaking and beginning to do any and every kind of serious work. See the *Rehla* of *Ibn Battuta*, G.O.S. pp. 59, 65, 66, 125,

(Verses 12-15)

According to a saying of the Prophet, God has created 18,000 worlds. 'Iṣāmī means to say that besides this world and the next there are many more worlds, for instance astronomical and physical worlds, worlds of thought and spiritual worlds including the *Nāsūt* world i.e. the human world, knowable by the senses; the *Malakūt* world i.e. the invisible world of angels and the *Lābūt* world, i.e. the divine world of Reality. Cf. A. Yusuf Ali—The Holy Quran p. 14

(Verses 19-24)

This is a reference to the Quranic verse:

'And WE have made above you seven tracts, *i.e.* orbits in the visible heavens.' Sura xxiii, v. 17. Cf. A. Yusuf Ali—The Holy Quran, p. 876

(Verses 71-77)

Taubid signifies the Islamic creed of the unity of God as expressed by the phrase *lā ilāhā ill-al-lāh* (there is no God but God).

APPENDIX B

Muhammad the Prophet (Verses 83-84)

İşamî's tribute to Prophet Muhammad is no effervescence of a poet's mind. The idea behind it is borne out by modern research. Says Mr. Holma, a Roman Catholic dignitary of Finland.

'In these later times while some scholars have endeavoured to show that the Prophet borrowed for the most part the doctrines and ideas of Islam from Christianity or from Judaism, others on the contrary have emphatically denied all Judo-Christian influence on him. What to say of a great scientist who sees only a mirage in the so-called apparition of Muhammad on the Mount Hira; and what to say of another scientist who recently attributed the visions of Muhammad to his taking exhilarating herbs. In our opinion these scholars ignore the requisites of research and fail to bring into limelight the personality of Muhammad.'

And the sincerity of his prophetic mission has also been tested by reason and research. The strong conviction of Muḥammad that he was really the messenger of God on earth is confirmed by the fact that he clearly prohibited being compared with the ordinary *kābin* of Arabia, namely a priest-conjurer who predicted the future with the help of arrows, the dice and the like... He did not even claim to be a worker of miracles. On the contrary he set himself from the beginning in line with the great prophets of Asia Minor—Abraham, Moses, Jesus. He said that all these prophets had preached to their countrymen the unmixed word of God but those who had received it had disfigured and corrupted it. Muḥammad was the last of the series of prophets. This thought which was his own and which he had not borrowed from anyone else proves his political and historical instinct; this instinct he possessed undeniably. God's word which he preached was the purest and most perfect interpretation of the heavenly books. From the beginning the second essential PART of the doctrine of Muḥammad was that he was the Prophet of God.....;¹

¹ Holma, H. Z—*Mabomet, Prophète de l 'Islam*, Paris,
pp. 49-162.

APPENDIX C

KHWĀJA NIŻĀMĪ OF GANJA (Verses 321 ff)

Shaikh Niżamu'ddin Ilyās bin Yusuf—commonly known as Niżāmī of Ganja, a town in Caucasus—was a famous poet of Iran. He is known as Niżāmī Ganjavī in the East and as Elizabatpol in the west. He was born at Qum in Iran in the year 535/1140 and died there at the age of sixty-four in the 600 Hijra/A.D. 1203. A great mystic and epic poet, he has been called 'second great classical poet of Persia'. He left behind many works, the most important being the *khamsa* (quintet), also called *Panj Ganj* (five treasures), namely (i) *Makhzan-i Asrār* completed in 571/1176 (ii) *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* completed in 575/1180 (iii) *Laila wa Majnūn* completed in 584/1188 (iv) *Sikandar Nāmah* completed in 507/1191 (v) *Haft Paikar* completed in 594/1198.

The *Makhzan-i Asrār* (literally treasure-house of secrets) is a collection of ethical and religious maxims in about eight thousand verses. The *Khusrau wa Shīrīn* versifies the love-story of *Khusrav Parvez*, the Sassanian emperor and the Armenian princess *Shīrīn* with *Farhād* as the undesirable paramour who meets with a tragic fate. The *Laila wa Majnūn* reproduces the tragic story of the infatuation of *Qais*, the Arab poet, for his beloved *Laila*, each belonging to a tribe bitterly hostile to the other. Both the lovers eventually find relief in death. The *Haft Paikar* (literally seven effigies) recounts the exploits of *Bahrām Gor*, a king of ancient Iran, who fell

in love with the seven princesses of seven countries—India, China, Khwārizm, Russia, Persia, Byzantium, and Morocco—and married them all in succession, building for each a special palace adaptable to her taste. The story of each princess is given in a separate *paikar* or chapter. Unlike the other four the *Sikandar Nāmah* (literally the book of Alexander) is an epic with a mystic touch which makes Alexander a prophet as well as a conqueror and relates the story of his search for the fountain of life. It dwells on the need and role of wazirs who must be philosophers like the great Aristotle.

Nizāmī Ganjavī specialized in the domain of *masnavi* and epic poetry wherein he stands unrivalled. He has exercised profound influence on the succeeding generations of *ṣufī* poets, notably on Amīr Khusrav Dehlawī, Khwāja Kirmāī, Kātibī, Farīdu'ddīn 'Attār and Amīr 'Alī Sher Nawāī.

ADDENDUM

Here is the translation of those verses and hemistichies in the text which the printers dropped.

Verses Nos.

575 Who uprooted the idol-house of Somnāth?
Who wielded the sword in the region of
Gujarāt?

578 Who sold Jaipal in Khurāsān?
Who burnt Gobind in Tarain?

590 Who conquered Teling by force of his
arm?
Who captured Jājnagar up to Bengal?

591 Who was the first to conquer Gutti (*Gūtī*)
and Kunti?
Who washed his sword in the waters of
the sea?

COMMENTARY

Verses Nos.

575 That is, Mahmūd of Ghazni

578 See p. 82, f. n. 2 and p. 141, verses
1326-1330 *supra*.

590-591 'Isāmī means to say that Sultān Muham-
mad who was known as Ulugh Khān
during the reign of his father became
famous for these conquests and exploits
of his in the Deccan.